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OUR REFORMED LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.

FOUR years have elapsed since the new Indian Councils Act was put in force. Three elections have been held in accordance with the rules framed under the Act. The experience so far gained has been satisfactory; but further improvement and development are desirable and possible. The present system of election and representation was introduced by Lord Lansdowne's Government, with the concurrence of the last Liberal ministry, in a spirit of sympathy and liberality so as to give due effect to the intentions expressed in Parliament when the Act was passed. Speaking in the House of Lords, Lord Salisbury insisted that "the machinery to be provided shall effect the purpose of giving representation, not to accidentally constituted bodies, not to small sections of the people here and there, but to the living strength and vital forces of the whole community of India." The intention here expressed by His Lordship is excellent; and if generously interpreted would admit of the broadest and the most popular system of election possible under the Act. But in making the tentative rules that are now in force, the authorities had to consider carefully, in the words of Mr. Gladstone, "those elements which in the present condition of India might furnish material for introduction into the Councils of the elective principle." And the Local Boards and Municipalities as ready-made electorates were availed of for the purpose, in addition to the University and the Chamber of Commerce. These bodies actually represent but a very limited portion of the vast population of

the country; but in making a beginning in view to further development and progress the authorities had to bear in mind that the reform they were introducing was a momentous one, and had accordingly to proceed with the utmost caution and circumspection. To have created a brand-new electorate according to the accepted notions of modern democracy would have been no less arduous than risky. The Municipalities representing the population of towns, and the District Boards that of the rural parts, covered a pretty wide surface, while the University and the Chamber of Commerce respectively represented the cultured intelligence and mercantile interests of the whole Presidency or Province. These are not, however, popular bodies, popular in the sense in which we generally understand the term; but it is possible to give them a popular character by broadening their basis and altering their constitution so that in course of time the people's voice may become a living force in the legislature of the country. For such a consummation we must look to the generous sympathy of local rulers and administrators. At present many of our electorates are essentially official bodies with very little of the active non-official element in them. The actual elective system is in force only in Municipalities, in a certain number of them; the rest are purely nominated bodies, the power of nomination being virtually vested in local officials who send up their recommendations to the Government which ratifies them. A sort of representation is provided also for District Boards which are partly recruited by election from the Taluk Boards; but these latter are themselves nominated bodies hardly independent even of the Local Tahsildar. The attention of Sir Arthur Havelock's government has been drawn both in the Legislative Council and by public bodies to the importance of introducing the elective element into the constitution of Taluk Boards; and it is generally hoped that before his term of office expires, our esteemed and popular governor will signalise his administration of this Presidency by the inauguration of a reform which, while giving a beneficial impetus to Lord Ripon's great scheme of local self-Government, will be the means of providing a really popular and useful electorate for the Legislative Council.

The other distinguished feature in the present system of election is the territorial division of the electorates. The districts of this Presidency, with the exception of the Madras Municipal limits, have been divided into two portions; and each

of these portions is again divided into two distinct groups of District Boards and Municipalities. Practically, therefore, the whole Presidency, excepting the city of Madras, has been formed into four separate electoral bodies each having one seat to itself. By this system the Northern group comprising the Deccan and the ceded Districts, is separated, for purposes of election, from the Southern group of Districts and gets two seats to itself, one to be filled up by election by District Boards and the other by the Municipalities. Considering the vast area and population of the Presidency, the four seats now divided among District Boards and Municipalities are extremely inadequate; and in practice, several districts go altogether unrepresented in important matters. The object of the Government in insisting on a residential qualification for the representatives of District Boards and District Municipalities was to ensure the representation of Mofussil interests by Mofussil men. The non-official members under the old Act were invariably residents of the Presidency towns as they were the men most distinguished and best known to the Government and the general public; and had it not been for the insistance of residential qualifications, no resident of the Mofussil would have likely got a seat in the Legislative Council; for the old conception of a non-official member of the Legislative Council was that of a man who had attained the first rank as a lawyer or public man and was as such known and esteemed throughout the Presidency. A man of this description was seldom found among the residents of the Mofussil; and if the New Councils Act had been put in force without imposing any restriction as to residence, the more prominent men in the capital of the Presidency would have been the first and, for sometime at all events, the subsequent recipients of the honor of being returned to the Council by Mofussil constituencies. The Government probably thought that the Mofussil could not be really represented by men who, by long and continued residence in the capital, had lost touch with the rural population, with their needs and grievances, and accordingly devised the rule that none but those who ordinarily reside within the limits of any of the Districts comprised in each group of District Boards or Municipalities shall be eligible for election. But it has to be pointed out that judging by the elections held so far, the object of the Government has not been accomplished, unless you regard all Mofussil as one and each part identical with the rest in language, customs, manners, revenue system and land

tenure. But several parts of the Presidency so differ from one another that a man of one District has absolutely no idea of another District in regard to the essential points of administration and legislation. Thus a member from a Deccan District has very little knowledge of Bellary or Chingleput, nor does a member from Tanjore or Trichinopoly know more about Malabar or South Canara. And by reason of the electoral bodies being scattered over so large an area, and of the majority of the districts in a group being identical in regard to language, land tenure or revenue system, several districts go altogether unrepresented and uncared for. Since the introduction of the elective system the Northern group of Municipalities has always been represented by a member from Rajahmundry while the representation of District Boards has alternated between Bellary and Cuddapah. Similarly in the Southern group while one seat has been uninterruptedly held by a member from Tanjore, the other has been alternately filled by representatives from Madura and Salem. Now these gentlemen are in no way better representatives of Districts other than those in which they reside than the residents of the city of Madras. On the other hand, the latter have the advantage of knowing more of the Presidency generally than those who reside in particular Mofussil stations. Many of us, for example, who ordinarily live in Madras not only have substantial interests in our respective Districts, but as lawyers or journalists have also needs and opportunities of acquainting ourselves with the popular wants and grievances of all parts of the Presidency. We cannot do without daily contact and communication with people from different parts of the Presidency, whereas a resident of the Mofussil who carries on his business or profession within the four corners of his own district or rather of his own town has no occasion to look about elsewhere except out of curiosity. It is thus clear that the present residential qualification and the consequent exclusion of men of the Presidency town from the Mofussil electorates have resulted in a very inadequate and partial system of representation so far as the Districts are concerned; and it has now been generally recognised that, under the present system of election, certain important districts in the Presidency have no chance of obtaining representation in the Council. There was no doubt very good reason for insisting on Mofussil residence as a *sine qua non* for election by Mofussil electorates; but the result actually

achieved hitherto, and may possibly be achieved hereafter, does not justify the restriction which is now in force. The best way to remedy the defect is to alter the territorial division of electorates and to re-distribute the seats in such a manner as to secure separate representation to smaller groups of districts.

The extremely small number of seats now thrown open for election is, indeed, a difficulty in the way of multiplying the electoral groups; for the four seats distributed over twenty-one districts cannot, by any manner of re-distribution, secure adequate representation for all parts. Two suggestions have, however, been made by recognised public bodies to make the best use of the available seats. They are, (1) to add to the existing number the remaining non-official seats to which the Government now makes its own nominations, (2) to mix the District Boards and Municipalities into common electoral bodies and (3) to divide them into as many electoral groups as there are seats available by the addition proposed. The arrangement, no doubt, appears excellent; but there are certain important considerations which militate against it. In the first place it has to be considered whether it is expedient to altogether destroy the line of demarcation drawn between District Boards and Municipalities. These two distinct classes of bodies represent different and divergent interests. While recognising that, for the time, District Boards are essentially official in their constitution and character, we cannot lose sight of the fact that in their very inception, they are intended to represent the more important and permanent interests of the country, and with the vast possibilities of development before them they may be expected, in course of time, to become real and living representatives of the great land-owning classes. In them we have the solid and conservative elements in the country, those very elements which are most affected by important measures of administration and legislation. But in the Municipalities the interests represented are varied and, in some respects, temporary. The interests of arts and professions, of trade and commerce predominate in them; and the classes most active and conspicuous who control the Municipal administration are generally more advanced and more radical in their tendencies. There is further the possibility of the different interests represented by District Boards and Municipalities being in conflict with each other; in some respects they are so now. It is moreover inequitable to place the District

Board on the same footing as a single Municipality, to make a single vote of the former equal to a single vote of the latter ; for the Municipalities being much larger in number will swamp the District Boards if both are thrown together for purposes of election. These considerations must weigh against the mixing up of the two in the manner suggested; and unless the Government of India, with the concurrence of the Secretary of State, agrees to effect the change throughout India, it is difficult to carry it out in Madras alone.

The Government may, if it is so pleased, add to the number of seats now allotted for district representation. The total number of non-official seats is 11, of which one is given to the Chamber of Commerce, one to the University, one to the Presidency Municipality and four to District Boards and District Municipalities. Of the four seats that remain, one is, and must be, held by a representative of the landed aristocracy ; and another which is held by a member of the great Mahomedan community will continue to be so held till one or more representatives of that community succeed in getting themselves elected by one or more of the existing electoral bodies. There are thus left two seats at the disposal of the Government, which may be given away in any manner it likes. It may be contended on its behalf that Government must retain those seats so as to allow representation, when it thinks fit, to such tracts or interests as may be left unrepresented under the system of election in vogue ; and it cannot be denied that under certain circumstances and in certain contingencies such a course will be necessary. For example, the Planting community which, for the time, has a separate representative in the Council, may well have need to protect its interests when special legislation affecting it may come up for consideration. Other similar interests may have also to be represented at certain times. It is, however, possible for Government under such circumstances to assign one of the official seats to the body or bodies requiring special representation on special occasions. The seat now held by the planting member is an official seat which was given away by Lord Wenlock at a time when no non-official seat was available. If, therefore, the extreme generosity of Government should incline it to make over the remaining two non-official seats to District Boards and District Municipalities, there will be in all six seats to be competed for by the representatives of these bodies. The whole electorate of the Presidency can then

be divided into six divisions instead of four as at present, and smaller groups of Districts can thus be secured separate representation. This I will revert to further on after considering whether and to what extent a more adequate representation can be obtained with the four seats now allotted.

As has been already pointed out, the whole Presidency is now divided into the Northern and Southern groups of District Boards and District Municipalities ; and the four groups thus created have one seat each. But as each group covers a large area, about half the Presidency, as any one residing in any part of that area can obtain the seat, and as owing to certain causes natives of certain Districts alone succeed in getting themselves elected, the advantage which the Government expected from insisting on residence in any of the Districts comprised within the group as a condition for election, has been secured but partially ; and as far as the unrepresented Districts are concerned it would have been far better for them if residents of the Presidency town had been allowed to compete. But if we divide the whole Presidency into four instead of two groups as at present, we will get eight electoral divisions, four of District Boards and four of District Municipalities. Thus in the North the Districts of Ganjam, Vizagapatam, Godavery and Krishna may form one group ; and Nellore, Kurnool, Cuddappah, Bellary, Anandapur, North Arcot and Chingleput may form another. Similarly in the South, South Canara, Malabar, Nilgiris, Coimbatore, and Salem will form one group, and Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura, Tinnevelly and South Arcot will form another. The District Boards and Municipalities arranged in this order will give us eight separate electoral groups, each getting a seat by turn as in Bengal ; and each of the four divisions of Districts will have one seat always, either of District Boards or of District Municipalities. The arrangement that I propose is this : of the two seats now allotted to the Northern group, one will be given to the Northern division under the proposed arrangement, and the other to the Southern ; and each seat will be alternately held by the representatives of the District Boards and the District Municipalities comprised within each division so that, if during this term the District Boards in the Northern division of the Northern group of Districts hold one seat, and the District Municipalities in the Southern Division the other, during the next term the Municipalities in the Northern division will have one seat, and the

District Boards in the Southern Division the other. Similar disposition of seats will prevail in the two divisions of the Southern group of Districts. In the result each of the four divisions of the Presidency will always have one representative at a time in the Council, either of District Boards or of District Municipalities. And in order to ensure local representation, the representative of each division must be insisted upon to be one who ordinarily resides in any of the districts comprised in that division, and not beyond its limits. The elections under the new arrangement may be held in the central cities of the four respective Divisions, if the delegation system continues, with the decided advantage of diminished trouble and expense to the delegates. The whole proposal is so easy to be carried out and will produce such beneficial results that the Government may, I venture to hope, be easily persuaded to sanction it.

If, however, it be found convenient to add the remaining two non-official seats, to which reference has been made above, to the existing number, we can divide the whole Presidency into six divisions and twelve electoral groups, the seats alternating in the manner already indicated. Each division will then consist of three districts generally, and in a few cases four, and will always have a separate representative, now returned by District Boards and again by Municipalities. Ganjam, Vizagapatam, and Godavery may form one division; Krishna, Kurnool, Cuddapah and Nellore may form a second; and Bellary, Anantapur, North Arcot and Chingleput, a third. In the South similarly, South Canara, Malabar and Nilgiris will form one division; Coimbatore, Salem, Mudura and Tinnevelly, another; and Trichinopoly, Tanjore and South Arcot, a third. This is merely a rough division capable perhaps of improvement. But if the principle is recognised there can be no difficulty in so re-arranging the Districts as to secure the best disposition of seats. In Bengal this system already prevails but in a less satisfactory manner, and its novelty cannot therefore be a bar to its adoption here. If adopted, it will secure separate representation for much smaller areas than at present and by men who ordinarily reside within those areas.

There yet remains another conspicuous feature of the present elective system to be considered, and that is the method of election by delegates. It is not clear why this particular method was adopted in preference to direct election by the members of

District Boards and Municipalities, unless the reason be that it was thought that the delegation system would bring in a better class of voters than those generally found in these local bodies, and that through them an absolute majority of votes in the whole electoral group might be ensured in favor of the successful candidate. There is no doubt that the delegates now appointed are generally the best men in point of talent and education ; and they may be expected to give their votes with discrimination and with a view to return the best candidate in the field. But it is extremely doubtful whether it secures the other end, namely the end of returning the candidate who is really approved by the majority of the constituencies as the best and the fittest. The delegates have considerable latitude in giving their votes, the only restriction on their freedom being that they should in the first ballot record their votes in favor of the candidate they are instructed by their constituents to vote for. Once this instruction is carried out and their candidate fails to be elected, the delegates are at liberty to vote for any body they like ; and most unexpected results have in certain cases been thus produced. The recent order of Government that alternative nominations might be made, and that the voting delegates should sign their name in the voting paper has to a certain extent diminished the latitude hitherto enjoyed. But even this restrictive rule goes only a very little way ; and judged by the results of the successive ballots of the last elections it cannot be confidently said that the intentions of the constituencies have been or will be strictly carried out. And further the system which enables a handful of delegates to determine the fate of elections is liable to abuse ; and there is no guarantee that advantage will not be taken by candidates or their agents to improperly influenee votes in their favor. The larger the number of voters the greater is the difficulty in the way of using any improper influence ; hence with a large electorate the possibility of illegitimate interference is very small. But the present delegation system must have just the opposite effect ; and as regards District Boards the number of delegates is so very small that an enterprising electioneering agent may, under certain circumstances, easily win the seat for his ambitious principal, although he may be quite unworthy of it. Very often one or two votes will determine the result of an election, and in such cases very little effort is needed to win the seat. The only way to provide against such a possibility is to increase the number of voters either by

authorising the appointment of more delegates by the bodies concerned or by doing away with the delegation system and allowing the members of those bodies to vote directly for their respective candidates. The latter system seems to be the better of the two, as in that case the election will be settled by the majority of votes recorded by the members of the bodies constituting a particular group, and there will be no need for holding a second election and dragging men to a distant central place. If there are, for instance, ten Municipalities or District Boards forming a particular group, each of those bodies will meet separately and elect a candidate by a majority of the votes recorded, as is done at present. An officer specially appointed for this purpose will be duly informed of these results; and he will declare the man who has obtained the largest number of the total votes recorded by the members of all the bodies constituting the group; and the Government will nominate him as the representative of that group. If this supersedes the system now in vogue, I have very little fear that it will lead to results worse than those obtained now. But one certain advantage it will have, that of awakening the members of District Boards and Municipalities to an increased sense of responsibility. At present, everybody feels that his vote has very little direct value, and that the final election may be settled independently of his vote. The absolute purposelessness which has been often found to characterise the first elections, and the readiness shown by several bodies to vote for almost any man who seeks their suffrage, are to be accounted for by the feeling of irresponsibility which the present system engenders. And seeing that the Chamber of Commerce, the University and the Presidency Municipality enjoy the privilege of direct representation, it is safe to assume that no question of principle can intervene to the prejudice of the plan I have formulated.

There has been some murmur of late against Government officials becoming voting delegates; and the last Provincial Conference in Madras seriously adopted a resolution involving an emphatic protest against the practice. I have already expressed elsewhere my opinion to the contrary; and further consideration does not incline me to modify or withdraw it. The prejudice against officials is an old-standing one, engendered under circumstances which do not exist now, and, so far as they exist, are counteracted by other influences. The narrow,

bigoted, selfish, supercilious official who, in the days gone by, oppressed people, took bribe and sold justice to the highest bidder, is associated in the minds of some people with the present times, with the reformed Council, the newspaper press and all other modern machinery of agitation; and it cannot be denied that to a certain extent official influence is still liable to be abused in favor of an unworthy or unpopular candidate. But it must at the same time be recognised that the large majority of officials of the present day are men of superior education, impelled by the same sympathies as influence non-official exponents of public opinion. They are as much interested in public welfare, and have no personal ambition of their own to satisfy. Unlike their predecessors of old, they are amenable to public opinion; and, with rare exceptions, they have stood by the candidates acceptable to the public. Nay more, some of our most popular members owe their election not a little to the influence and support of officials. Unless, therefore, they are found to misuse their power and influence to the prejudice of public interests, it is unwise to exclude them from participation in the elections, to which they are entitled as members of the recognised electoral bodies. As members of District Boards and Municipalities they have the right to vote at the preliminary elections; and if that is allowable, there is no reason why they should not be allowed the other right, which follows from it, of voting as delegates at the final elections. They are moreover citizens of the empire having as much interest in the country as any non-official; and I fail to see why their official position should preclude them from the known rights of citizenship. Indeed, as Government officials they possess larger influence in the Mofussil than other classes of people; and the more imprudent of them may possibly compromise their position by identifying themselves with parties and factions. To avoid any such scandal the Government has wisely provided that its officials ought not to take too prominent a part in the elections; and anybody who infringes this injunction does so at his own peril. Excepting this wholesome restriction, no other appears to be desirable at present. In our District Boards the official element is predominant, not only by its influence but also by its intelligence. Leaving the officials out, what we have in these bodies are generally a set of ill-educated, ill-informed, incompetent, timid men who are themselves the creatures of officials and who

ere there simply to nod assent to the official decree. If only the system of paying batta be abolished, I am sure many of them would not care to be there. The District officials are no doubt much to blame for appointing this sort of men; but taking things as we find them, it is hopeless to form a competent electorate after leaving out the official element. In the Municipalities, things are a thousand times better; but even there the officials are by no means a negligible element as they are by no means the least intelligent or the least influential section of the whole body. Officials still form a very important portion of our educated population; and, in my opinion, the time has not yet come when we can discard them altogether in constructing an electorate. It has, indeed, been urged that, in electing a representative to the Supreme Legislative Council, only non-official members of the Local Legislature are allowed to vote; but it is forgotten that both in the University and the Presidency Municipality no difference whatever is made between official and non-official members, and both vote at the elections. This is significant as showing that the principle applied in the case of the Provincial Legislature is not identical with that now suggested. In the Legislative Council it is a ruling principle that officials should always be in the majority; and an election made by such a body may result in returning a member whose official leanings have commended him to the acceptance of the majority. But in the local Boards generally the officials are in the minority, and in theory they are subordinate to the non-official majority. Where they are disposed to exceed the prescribed limits, public opinion and fear of the displeasure of Government are sufficient to keep them in restraint.

It now remains for me to deal with certain misconceptions and superstitions which seem to prevail in regard to the object and scope of representation in the Council. There appears to be a tendency to circumscribe the duties of our representatives according to the character of the constituencies which elect them. Thus it has been said that the member for the University should be one capable of representing the interests of that body as though that is the only qualification that is necessary for him in the Legistative Council. Similar views have been expressed as regards the functions and duties of gentlemen who have been returned to the Council by other constituencies. Nay, some of the honorable members themselves seem to entertain narrow

notions of this sort. It cannot therefore be too often pointed out that the existing constituencies have been selected not because they represent special interests, but because they are the only ready-made and stable bodies which could easily be utilised as electorates. And every constituency ought to take particular care that the member it returns to the Council is fit to represent not merely its own needs and interests, but those of the general public, as otherwise the member for the University is apt to think that he has no other interest to serve except that of the University, and the member for the Madras Municipality may likewise think that his duty in the Council ceases with putting a few questions about the drainage scheme or making a speech on the condition of the Cooum. Such a result will not secure to the country the advantages expected from the reformed Council by those who were responsible for passing the new Act as well as by the general public.

Another misconception, and I may even call it a superstition, is that representation should be of castes and communities; and we very frequently hear of the representation of this or that community and of this or that caste. Communal representation first began with the Mahomedans; a desire for it is now spreading among other communities. It does not seem to be recognised that a community can claim special representation only when it has special interests to be represented. The Mahomedans by their number, influence, interests and traditions form an important community; and there may be occasions when special knowledge of their laws and customs, and of their needs and peculiarities will be of use and advantage in the Council. But the demand for communal representation is being gradually made by smaller sections of the people; and in course of time it threatens to become a nuisance. One can understand different interests requiring separate representation. There is, for example, the interest of the Mercantile community; there is again the interest of the planting community or of the land-holding classes. But it is impossible to see what special interests particular sections of the people as such can have to require separate representation. The evil is aggravated when the demand for communal representation descends into a desire for the representation of caste; and it has been only too apparent of late that the elections are at times apt to be influonced by considerations of caste. The most common thing that one hears of in connection with

the elections is the distinction between Brahman and non-Brahman, and when a non-Brahman is elected as against a Brahman satisfaction is openly expressed by people interested in keeping up caste and sectional differences, not that a really worthy candidate has been elected but that there is one non-Brahman against one Brahman. As far as public affairs are concerned, it is a matter of perfect indifference to what caste or creed a man belongs who has to represent the general public in the Legislative Council. The essential qualification that is required of him is that of ability and knowledge. He must have the capacity to grasp public questions and discuss them with intelligence. He must possess a satisfactory knowledge of the country, of the people, and of the system of administration. And above all he must be a man of popular sympathies. Other qualifications, such as past public service and an established reputation may be auxiliaries to these, but they are not essential. In accepting a man as the representative of a popular constituency, these qualifications, and not caste or creed, should determine the choice. A Mahomedan, a Christian, or a Buddhist is as good as the purest Brahmin provided he possesses the qualifications just indicated. The idea of representation by caste presupposes the existence of caste interests in the Legislative Council as well as the probability of a member of one caste acting against the interests and sentiments of another caste. It does not appear to me that such a contingency is likely to arise. The only instance that I can think of occurred during the discussion on the Malabar Marriage Bill, when an elected Brahman member from Tanjore brought forward an amendment opposing the legislation of marriages between Brahmans and certain other classes in Malabar. In that case no doubt he spoke and acted as a Brahman against the interest of a non-Brahman class, and not as the duly elected representative of the general public. That was, however, a rare instance which is not likely to occur again, at all events, in the ordinary course. The prejudice in favor of parti cular castes in the matter of elections is fatal to efficient representation in the Council; for a candidate, favored for his caste, may not possess the qualifications required of a legislator; he may even be quite unworthy of the honor and distinction proposed to be conferred upon him. Nevertheless he should succeed if the predominant caste feeling be in his favor; and he will then owe his seat to his caste more than to his constituents.

Such a result will not be quite conducive to the success and development of the elective system; and every possible endeavour should be made to discourage the tendency that is now perceptible to disregard principle and public interests in favor of caste, sectional and communal considerations.

The reformed Council has so far resulted in good to the Government and the people. To the former the elected members have been valuable helpmates in the work of legislation by acquainting it with popular views and sentiments and by strengthening it by their assent to its measures. To the people there is the satisfaction that their needs and grievances can be properly represented; and measures passed with the assent of their representatives inspire greater confidence in them. Men learn to act with greater sense of responsibility, and to be cautious and temperate in their criticisms of Government and its measures. The judicious exercise of the right of interpellation has made Government officials more guarded and thoughtful. Above all more people are being trained to the work of legislation, and brought to realise the difficulties of administration. An improvement in the directions I have suggested will make the Council a stronger, more popular and more useful body.

C. KARUNAKARA MENON.

ALTRUISM: ITS ORIGIN AND DESTINY.

IN the grand march of Evolution ever since the World began, Ominiscient Nature has always been mindful of what she had to do from time to time towards the building up of a Social fabric and the fostering of Ethical Humanity. No doubt Man has had a great deal to do in the latest years of the World's development towards constructing a Society as we now find it; but, unless Nature first prepared the way for its formation, chalked out the lines for him to follow, and actively helped him on in his progress he would not have succeeded so well as he has done. In ministering to the ethical efficiency of individuals, Nature has played a very important part indeed; and, though Man took up the thread where Nature left it, yet he worked only on the lines shadowed forth by her in her process of Evolution that had gone on for ages in the past, and worked also with the help which she had constantly afforded in the formation of those habits of a self-sacrificing character which constitute the essence of ethical efficiency and which best subserve the noble end of effectively tending towards the realization of that moral ideal towards which the Society is steadily advancing. I will now briefly sketch out what nature has done towards the building up of that sublimest content of the Universe, the Ethical Society, and show that the basis for the training of individuals for that Society is furnished by her, a basis that, though recognised by all thinkers, has yet not received that attention and emphasis which it deserves as a factor that saves Nature from the charge of want of continuity in her ways.

The essential mark of the ethical efficiency of an individual is, as has been observed, preparedness for self-sacrifice. When was a germ of this self-sacrifice, the noblest of all social virtues, engendered in the world, and what was the occasion? In his Romanes' Lecture on Ethics and Evolution, the late Professor Huxley bitterly bemoans the absence of any sanction for Morality, any undercurrent of self-sacrifice in the ways of the Cosmos. Organised politics and moral communities, which are all based upon Sacrifice for the common good, are not the result of that famous

factor of cosmic evolution, the struggle for existence and the consequent survival of the fittest. This factor which is ruthless and essentially self-assertive, has indeed worked out the sub-ethical nature to its highest perfection but is totally incompetent to produce anything like the absolute goodness of the World. This glorious task, says Huxley, is left for man to execute, and by virtue of a fund of energy which is lodged within him and which is akin to the spirit which pervades the Universe, he checks the cosmic process at every step and brings into existence the grandest of all human products, the Ethical Society. He speaks of the ethical world as an artificial world within the cosmos. Another recent writer on social evolution, Benjamin Kidd, also proclaims that there is no sanction for morality in Nature, that there is only incessant struggle to be seen everywhere and only incessant groans to be heard and seeks an ultra-rational sanction to explain the origin and progress of Society.

The late Mr. Henry Drummond has protested emphatically against these declarations and shown that Nature has been impartial in her ways and affords as much sanction for self-sacrifice as she does for self-love. He lays great stress on the factor of the struggle for the life of others which as existed from the beginning and regards it as constituting that root of self-sacrifice which has struck deep into the lowest reaches of Organic Nature, as deep indeed as the struggle for life itself and in which may be seen the natural sanction for morality so eagerly sought after.* He says that the two factors of the struggle for life and the struggle for the life of others are both cosmical and ethical factors, the former being based on the physiological function of Nutrition and the latter being based on the physiological function of Reproduction.

We are told that when the Protozoan, the lowest animal organism of only one cell, grows so big that it is no longer possible for it to take in the requisite supply of nutrition by absorption through its surface as is its wont, it splits itself into two smaller organisms as otherwise it would have to give up its life.

* In this, no doubt, he has been anticipated by Mr. Herbert Spencer ; but the credit of emphasising it as a second cosmic factor at the basis of Altruism is entirely due to him. He would certainly have done better if he had acknowledged the fact that he had been so anticipated somewhere in his *Ascent of Man*. The Editor of the *Saturday Review* is unusually hard upon him and sneers at his attempt to reconcile his doctrine of evolution with his Calvinistic Theology ; but he never made any honest attempt to draw a fair estimate of the merits of the reconciliation.

This rudimentary phase of reproduction must be viewed as the first great act of self-sacrifice. In giving up its life as an individual and bringing forth two individuals it performs an act of self-sacrifice. The beautiful flower of the tree droops or gives up its life for the sake of the clustering seeds contained within. All plants and animals are known, as if unselfishly, to provide the first foods for their infants, so that these may not be in want as soon as they are born into the world. Particular instances in which either life is unconsciously given up for the sake of other lives or the first foods are instinctively stored up for infants at much sacrifice, may be endlessly multiplied. And now the question is, when does this unconscious giving up of life for the sake of others, or the instinctive storage of food as the first supply develop into a conscious sacrifice in the course of evolution ? And the answer is, when the mere femaleness found to exist in every species of plants and animals develops into motherhood ? And, when, again does this femaleness develop into motherhood ? When it is accompanied by a development the brain and the evolution of Reason.

Drummond next points out how in the course of evolution, when motherhood develops, love from an ethical point of view makes its appearance in the world for the first time. The mother must love the child because it is weak and helpless. She can also afford to love the child because it is now only one and not too many as in the lower stages of evolution. The mother and the child live together for a long time and during the period the child also learns to love and obey. He next shows how patience develops from the passivity of the mother or her capacity to sit still, how patience practised upon a child when it is in trouble breeds fellow-feeling or sympathy, how passive sympathy leads to active sympathy, and how this in its turn leads to a disposition to help the child always. Regarding the development of sympathy, Drummond says :—" On occasions sympathy will be called out in unusual ways. Crisis will occur—dangers, famines, sicknesses. At first the mother will be unable to meet these extreme demands—her fund of sympathy is too poor. She cannot take any exceptional trouble or forget herself or do anything very heroic. The child, unable to breast the danger alone, dies. It is well that this should be so. It is the severity and righteous justice of Nature—the tragedy of

Ivân Ivânovitch anticipated by Evolution. A mother who has failed in helpfulness must leave no successor to perpetuate her unworthiness in posterity. Somewhere else, however, developing along similar lives, there is another fractionally better mother. When the emergency occurs she rises to the occasion. For one hour she transcends herself. That day a cubit is added to the moral stature of mankind; the first act of self-sacrifice is registered in favour of the human race. It may or may not be that the child will acquire its mother's virtue. But unselfishness has scored; its child has proved itself fitter to survive than the child of selfishness. * * * * * * * * Love is no necessary ingredient of sex relation; it is not an outgrowth of passion. Love is love and has always been love and has never been anything lower. Whence, then, came it? If neither the husband nor the wife bestowed this gift upon the world. Who did? It was a little child. Till this appeared Man's affection was non-existent; Woman's was frozen. The Man did not love the Woman; the Woman did not love the man. But one day from its Mother's very heart, from a shrine which her husband never visited, nor knew was there, which she herself dared scarce acknowledge a child drew forth the first fresh bud of a Love which was not passion, a Love which was not selfish, a Love which was an incense from its Maker and whose fragrance from that hour went forth to sanctify the world. Later, long later, through the same tiny and unconscious intermediary the father's soul was touched. And one day in the love of a little child, Father and Mother met."

Thus, according to this conception of the origin of the social and moral order, there is sanction for morality in the ways of the Cosmos. Side by side with a factor whose main object was to perfect life, there has been working from the beginning of Time another factor, the struggle for the life of others whose main object was to produce the moral order of the Universe. But without perfect physical organism accomplished by the first factor moral order would be meaningless, and without the aim of a moral order the perfecting of life in a physical organism would be purposeless. Both the factors have helped each other in the past and still help each other in their scope and operation. The struggle for life enlarges the possibilities of a successful working of the struggle for the life of others, and this latter enlarges the scope and working of the struggle for

life by introducing into the world greater demand for the same supplies and thus rendering the competition extremely keen. It should not however be supposed that after perfecting life up to the point of the human body, the struggle for life ceased to work. It does continue to work though in different forms and it will never cease to work. All the efforts of man at the present day towards the development of his own resources at the expense of those of others are only different forms of the struggle for life. The ape and tiger propensities still linger in man; but they appear in the mildest of forms. Excepting those moral laws the violation of which is visited with punishment or displeasure from any recognised authority, the rest are, in the generality of cases, completely ignored; and the rare instances of heroic disinterestedness which we now and then come across are extreme developments from the factor of the struggle for the life of others largely aided and strengthened by those other forces which have been born of the expanded intelligence in the course of evolution and which have operated to much effect in the past and which still operate so as to remove still further the string of the self-assertive struggle.

Of these subsidiary forces aiding the struggle for the life of others in constructing an ethical society, the force of attraction of similars and the principle of union may be mentioned. The force of attraction of similars by which animals of like shape and features are drawn towards each other developes at a stage of mental evolution when perception becomes possible, expands with its progress and continues to aid the sympathetic struggle in increasing definiteness and intensity. This is how in the history of Cosmic Evolution we have always had a grouping of individuals of the same species and a kind of united action among them in the lower ranks of sentient life. The individuals of a species have been drawn together by the sympathy of likeness and have always maintained as far as possible amicable relations with one another and have thus guarded against the possible contingency of the annihilation of their kind. This last result of the preservation of their species which they could unintentionally secure in the earlier stages came at last to be deliberately intended when mental evolution progressed so far as to make them alive to the advantages of union and understand that the expan-

sion of their own species could serve as a protection against the attacks on the lives of individual members. In some of the lower animals, a conscious impulse is known to exist that they should not hurt one another while pursuing a common cause. " Wolves could not hunt in packs except for the real though unexpressed understanding that they should not attack one another during the chase. " They could appreciate the physical strength of numbers and always presented a united front against the attacks of other species. In all such cases the struggle for life is not the struggle for the life of an individual, but it is a struggle for the life of the whole species. Even in the highest of organised beings certain settled methods of life are adopted which are best calculated to save the extinction of the species if not also to promote its development. Man as the latest evolved product has to maintain his position as the head of the sentient beings, and, in order to secure strength with a view to this object enters into a sort of contract with his fellow-beings. The terms of the contract form a good portion of the ethical principles which are thus based not merely upon love, sympathy, &c., brought into existence by the working of the struggle for the life of others, but also upon an intellectual recognition of the benefits, physical and mental, of the principle of co-operation or union. Were it not for such a contract, man's supremacy would be at an end He agrees to part with some of his privileges because he knows that by so doing he can secure better advantages for his own living and greater facilities for the maintenance of his own race. Even within his own society the survival of the fittest does prevail as " the fittest" does not necessarily mean " the strongest" but only " the best adapted to the environments."

Thus the cosmic process without losing its essential features gets considerably modified and appears in different forms in different stages without running counter to the beneficent principles. The fittest man is he who adapts himself to the new conditions and forces introduced by the beneficent principles and advances the cause of such principles by promoting their action. The two cosmic factors get interlaced into each other in their working; and the genuine altruistic nature begotten of the struggle for the life of others is greatly overlaid by the intensifying effects of other forces that had developed at different stages of mental evolution. Before true love, sympathy and duty were actually

born in the world these forces had also prepared the way for their easy genesis and development.

Of the two physiological functions of nutrition and reproduction which Drummond emphasises as the bases of the two cosmic factors, the struggle for life and the struggle for the life of others, priority may easily be seen to belong to nutrition. He tells us that all the virtues have a sanction in Nature in so far as love, sympathy, duty, &c., are born of parental nursing whose necessity even for physical development and equipment for life, not to speak of the unspeakable end of realising the grandest and the noblest world, is consciously developed by the growing intelligence. This parental nursing which is viewed by Drummond as the beginning of self-sacrifice is traced back to the function of reproduction as its source; but this reproduction, not being possible without previous nutrition, must be viewed as taking its origin from it and thus occupying a place only subordinate to it. It is in fact the growth of the cell with the continuity interrupted. Mr. Spencer and Hackel have called it a process of discontinuous growth. It is said that owing to physiological necessities the first animal cell must either die or split into two. What are those physiological necessities? They are the necessities arising from previous nutrition and the consequent development. And Drummond says that the cell does not die under these circumstances, but splits itself into two. And he interprets this act of the cell as the fore-shadowing of the self-sacrifice since it gives up its life as an individual and brings forth two individuals. This is quite true. But there is another aspect of the act which is even more important. If the animal cell prefers the latter alternative and splits itself into two cells instead of dying altogether, it is clear that it does so because it wants to save itself. Drummond does recognise this aspect of the phenomenon and says that the fact of its producing two lives in the very act of saving itself is a proof that the two factors the struggle for life and the struggle for the life of others are inter-related. We may accept this interpretation but may go further and ask, of the two aims thus interpreted, namely, the aim of saving its life and the aim of losing its individuality for the sake of two individuals, which is more primordial than the other? The answer which suggests itself to me is that the former is certainly an earlier fact in nature and is a necessary prelude to the latter.

If it is true that in order to save itself it splits itself into two, it must also be true that the preservation of life is the more primary end and that the bringing of two lives into existence is only a mode of accomplishing the main object. Also nutrition which is at the basis of self-preservation is a necessary preliminary to reproduction which is at the basis of self-sacrifice. Thus, the deepmost root of self-sacrifice planted in Nature is an inevitable consequence of, and an obvious development from, the deep-most root of self-love. This fact of the root of self-love being an indispensible condition of the root of self-sacrifice is a proof that the struggle for life will never disappear from the world so long as Ethical Society lasts, and affords a natural sanction for the doctrine that self-sacrifice cannot subsist on the extreme of self-abnegation. It is a proof that if love of self is completely extinguished then love of others also is completely extinguished. In the artificial training which the more advanced social man gives to the future responsible member of the society, *i.e.*, in man's artificial working of the principle of union so as to be fit the individual to fill a suitable place in society, the first and the foremost factor that is made use of is the factor of self-love imbedded in the human constitution, by a wise regulation of which the desired moral results are produced. Such a training becomes possible only when the individual trained has desires to pursue and pains to avoid, so that he may be made to see that the feelings of other individuals similarly constituted should be respected in the same way in which he desires that his own feelings should be respected by them.

In the ancient world of Fetichism when mental development was very low natural phenomena had no natural causes but were so many miracles the explanation of which consisted merely in a reference to the mysterious action of anthromorphic deities represented by perceivable insensate objects of the grossest description. As mental evolution advanced and science gained ground, this mode of viewing the World around was gradually given up, and people saw in the production of natural phenomena the sensible operation of natural causes. This discovery of scientific causes to explain superstitions was only gradual as mental evolution itself was only gradual. Those superstitions were longest in yielding to scientific explanations whose natural causes were intricate, complex and difficult of attainment. And as Intelligence developed and became com-

petent to discover and analyse these it was possible to bring even those refined superstitions within the range of ever-widening explanations of science. The phenomenon of life and the origin of the species remained till very recently absolutely inscrutable, and the latter of these, the origin of the species succumbed at last to the repeated attacks of the inexorable and aggressive enemy science. We have now a beautiful scientific explanation of the origin of the species, an explanation which owing to the novelty of its ideas, many minds are slow to accept, but which, by virtue of its adequacy and compreheusiveness, may one day bring the entire world of science under its sway and reign supreme as the only satisfying solution of the problem of this eventful world with its multiplex species and phenomena. As in the matter of securing the choicest blessings of life and seeking ways and means that largely minister to the comforts of the body, man's aspirations know no bounds, so, in the matter of pursuing truth also, a contented mind is a rare phenomenon among lovers of truth and if Nature parts with some of her secret treasures for man's benefits, he aspires for more, and with the clue thus unwarily afforded by her seeks, by dint of assiduous labour and strenuous effort, to unearth even the last jealous belonging that she might have concealed in the innermost depths of her sacred bosom. Hopes are not entertained by Biologists that some day the origin of life itself which is the accepted datum and starting-point of organic evolution will yield to the scrutiny of science and thus even the last inscrutable will finally become a commonplace phenomenon, as commonplace as wind, rain, snow, or lightning with no wonder or importance investing it and with nothing of the miraculous shrouding it, presupposing the intervention and initiation of a Deity.

Whatever may be the grounds upon which such a hope is entertained, no way is at present open of positively contending against the position that the phenomenon of life is inexplicable except on the supposition of an all-pervading spirit. Even if it should become possible at some future date to explain life by means of a definite combination of atoms under a definite collocation still the question will remain, why should the laws of development operate so as to produce life at that particular time and no other? And why should life be produced at all? Such questions cannot be answered except by the supposition of a Su-

preme Spirit. It may be that in doing so we are transcending the limits of rational postulation.

Agnosticism is no doubt an impregnable position to adopt; but it miserably fails to satisfy the legitimate cravings of an inquiring mind. Speculate in the region of belief and arrive at some sort of conclusion and you seem to obtain true satisfaction. It is the spirit, then, that runs through the whole course of evolution. It is by means of the spirit that pervades the universe that evolution has gone on during the past. The very fact that this process of evolution savours of the grandest of aims, that in the earlier stages it had the perfection of life to achieve and in the latter the development of ethical humanity, and that the laws by which such ends can be realised are most perfect that can be conceived clearly indicates that it is not materialistic in character and that a supreme all-pervading spirit is guiding it, so as to produce in the end Ethical and Spiritual Beings of the greatest perfection. In his Inaugural address to the students of the Edinburgh University Prof. Seth points out the trifling and hollow character of the professions made by a Mechanical Teleology in the following words:—"The Philosophical Teleology of which I speak concerns itself only with the end of the whole evolution. It concentrates itself upon the proof that there is an end, that there is an organic unity or purpose binding the whole process into one and making it intelligible—in one word, that there is evolution and not merely aimless change. For, it is only when it is contemplated in the light of a realised idea that any one speaks of a series of changes as steps in an evolution. A speculation which does not see that evolution spells purpose has not made clear to itself the difference between progress and aimless variation. Such speculation rests ultimately on a purely mechanical view of the universe."

Purposive function is peculiar to Intelligence, and the highest purpose can only be conceived by the highest intelligence. In the first place, the question may be put, Why should all the natural causes contrive to produce a harmony in Nature? Why was life gradually perfected, and why should the laws now tend towards a progressive development of Ethical Nature. We are unavoidably led to the conclusion that there must be some cause for such definite combinations of causes calculated to produce more and more highly perfected types of products.

Existence or mere Persistence of force may account for the particular cases of causation, but can never explain why the different forces are directed in a determinate manner towards the production and maintenance of a beautiful order in this universe. To explain a phenomenon by natural causation, nay, by evolution as the method of natural causation, is only to throw the difficulty a step back and postpone its real solution until a formal query is instituted as to the nature of ultimate causation itself. It thus seems that we are bound to regard the universal order of nature, an order which, besides being universal, is also constant and exact so as to render knowledge or experience attainable, as due to the action of an Intelligent Principle in determining such harmony of operation among the physical forces as is calculated to produce and maintain such a system. But what is the nature of this Intelligent Principle? We say it is of the nature of the human mind. By this we ought to understand only that the nearest analogue given of it in human experience is the human mind. It is however to be viewed as essentially different from such a mind for all practical purposes. The attribute of intelligence is to be regarded as belonging to that Divine Spirit in a degree reached only by an infinite extension of human intelligence and under conditions essentially different for all practical purposes from those under which such intelligence is commonly known to exist. It will thus be seen that this conception of the Deity is not anthropomorphic and is postulated only to afford, under the present conditions of our knowledge, the best possible and ultimate explanation of the general order and purpose in nature. It is not therefore relevant to ask of what avail is it to install a conception which, on careful examination, reduces itself to nothing? The conception as we have seen is not an absolute nothing. Though dim, it furnishes a resting place for the wandering mind and a satisfying explanation for the thousand-and-one queries of the pious inquirer. Supreme Intelligence inferred on the analogies given in human experience and exalted to a pedestal inaccessible to the human mind, seems to afford greater satisfaction to the anxious questioner than any peremptory mandate: "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther." Proceeding to the farthest confines of reason we are told by the Agnostic "we must stop here there is no good proceeding farther." There may be no good; but where is the harm in speculating in the region of belief, if only by so doing an otherwise

irrepressible desire is gratified and a provisional answer is supplied to the question what is the nature of ultimate causation ?

There is yet another point which we cannot fairly pass over. Is there any beneficence implied in the successive stages of natural causation so as to enable us to infer morality of the supreme spirit. Does nature give us data for inferring morality of God ? Against the natural Theologian who asserts the existence of a conscious personal God and attributes beneficence to his designs, it is alleged that the constant warfare that has gone on in the course of evolution and that is still going on in the world, and the large amount of cruelty and pain suffered by the sentient creation do not certainly indicate any beneficence in the creator. The wide prevalence of the Law of suffering precludes the attribution of beneficence to the Creator. Millions of sentient organisms have been in a state of unceasing warfare, dread and pain during the incalculable past in their efforts to gain a footing in the World. Millions of lives are still snatched away under our very nose and millions of lives still tortured every moment by their more powerful antagonists. The Theologian in reply takes refuge under the unproved assumption that the sum of animal happiness preponderates over the sum of animal misery. Even supposing this to be true, it might still be asked why could not the so-called beneficent and omnipotent creator have so arranged his scheme of nature as to bring about "the fair order of Nature" without causing the slightest pain to any of the sentient creation ? The indiscriminate manner in which justice is meted out and punishments are inflicted in this world does not also argue beneficence in the ways of Nature.

It must be noted that from the point of view adopted here it is irrelevant to apply our conception of morality to the Supreme Spirit. To do so is to make the conception anthropomorphic. For aught we know there may be a moral justification (moral in a different sense) for these appearances of cruelty, pain and misery. All that we can say is, that in the course of Organic Evolution, all other ends including animal enjoyment appear to have been made subservient to the one chief end of perfecting life. In the struggle for life and the survival of the fittest pain has been in fact an essential condition to progress; for, pains and pleasures are the subjective concomitants of destructive and wholesome changes in the organism, respectively, and that organism or species had the best chances of surviving in the strug-

gle in which sensibility to pain had been most developed and had thus served as an effective warning against the pursuit of such actions as lead to destructive changes in the organism. And this adjustment between the states of pleasure and wholesale changes in the organism brought on by certain kinds of stimuli and the states of pain and deleterious changes in the organism brought on by certain other kinds of stimuli has been through numberless generations in the past successfully accomplished by natural selection. The very origin of sentiency or sensibility to pleasure and pain may be traced to natural selection; and when it was first evolved presumably for the purpose of providing the organism with an easier, more rapid and more refined means of adjusting itself to the environment in which it is placed it had to be organised in such a manner that it may serve this purpose. States of pleasure were then connected with wholesome changes in the organism and states of pain with disruptive changes; so that only those animals survived which found pleasure in what was beneficial to life and pain in what was injurious to it. Pleasure and pain, therefore, must both be present in sentient nature and are both necessary for progress. They are to be viewed only as different aspects of one and the same condition to progress under evolution by natural selection. They are thus simply the incidents of natural causation and no preponderance of either of them over the other should be taken to signify the beneficence or the reverse of the Supreme Spirit that immanently works out the general order of the cosmos through his inviolable laws.

Now it is the Supreme Spirit that pervades the whole Universe and that, being immanent in the natural forces, so collocates and adjusts them as by producing the perfection of life and the expansion of intelligence develops and fosters altruistic nature to such an extent that ultimately other selves are perceived as identical with self and that all selves are realized as the simple reflections of itself, *viz.*, the Supreme Spirit. The rudimentary reproductive act consisting in the first animal cell splitting itself into two cells is rightly regarded by Drummond as the root of Altruism in nature, but has been shown by us to proceed from a love of self in so far as the cell must die if it does not so divide itself. When the cell divides itself into two cells we say that the spirit out of a love for itself appears in two forms. If the division of the primitive cell into cells is only a process of discontinuous growth and if the belief in and all-pervading

Supreme Spirit is also countenanced, then it follows that the two cells are only different forms of one and the same spirit. The two unicellular organisms being thus only two forms of the same spirit, have an inherent attraction towards each other but the attraction is so feeble on account of the grossness of the form and of the deficiency of the intellect, and is so much overlaid by other facts that we are led to suppose that there is nothing of that kind of attraction, nay that there is even a kind of a repulsion between them. As, however, higher forms of life are ushered into existence by the process of natural selection this tendency becomes more pronounced. Though the two factors of the struggle for life and the struggle for the life of others have run on side by side ever since evolution began, yet the operation of the former has been more virulent and relentless in the earlier stages in view to the end of perfecting life and has become less and less poignant in the latter stages, while the operation of the latter in the earlier stages has been so insignificant and so far overpowered by its rival as to be rendered completely ineffective, and has developed only gradually until it acquired enormous strength in Human Society. Accordingly this inherent tendency for attraction between the primitive cells gets thoroughly obscured in the more vehement struggle for life and vindicates its existence only by the formation of regular colonies of such unicellular organisms and by the gradual differentiation of functions among the cells of such colonies on the economic principle of the division of labor so as to form a hierarchy of them and thus enable the multicellular organism as a whole to successfully adjust itself to its environment and save itself from being swept away in the universal struggle for life. It will thus be seen that even in the first start in the evolution of life what might be regarded as the precursor of the ethical bond has as its chief aim the equipment of the organism for making a bold stand against the destructive forces developing in the course of the struggle for life. This co-organization of individual cells in the Metazoan as well as the formation of a colony of cells in the higher Protozoal life, is, as we understand it, distinctly indicative of the rudimentary bond of attraction which also develops on the same lines as every other fact in the organic universe. As individuals multiply in number this rudimentary bond also develops, but develops only in those circumstances in which by reason of sameness of area and similarity of conditions the habits of life become identical and oppor-

tunities for contact are rendered more frequent. In other circumstances (*i. e.*,) in those in which the individuals wander away from one another the growth of the bond is considerably stifled by the dissimilarity in the habits of life and by the absence of opportunities for coming in contact. The bond however is there and shows itself only when in some subsequent stage in evolution, when the first dawning of perception takes place, there is a dim recognition of identity in regard to the possession of animal attributes among organisms that are descended from ancestors that had long remained separated from each other and had lived entirely different modes of life and that are now brought face to face to each other by some causes natural or adventitious. It must always be remembered that the development of this bond in any circumstances is at every step checked and limited by the overwhelming counteraction of the struggle for life. When the mutual recognition above alluded to between organisms that had been evolved in remote corners of the globe and that are now brought together by accident takes place, the possibility of its continuance and its subsequent accentuation is wholly subject to the absence at the moment of those rigorous agencies that cause and maintain the struggle for life, hunger, climate, and competition.

We have already hinted that this rudimentary bond of attraction among primitive organisms owes its very existence and further development to the spirit that is immanently present in them and works out their evolution according to certain fixed well-ordered methods. We are told by modern evolutionary science that the process of reproduction in the Protozoan by fissiparous divisions is only a process of discontinuous growth; that is to say the several organisms into which the primitive organism splits itself are to be viewed only as different parts of one whole. In a purely mechanical explanation of the species or of organic evolution, the start is made with this whole of a living organism without any explanation of how life is introduced; and consequently the subsequent products of evolution brought into existence by the operation of certain natural laws are to be viewed in accordance with the above interpretation as only so many physical fractional parts of one whole. In the theistic explanation of evolution, discussed in the foregoing pages, the Supreme Spirit, the necessity for the postulation of which has already been vindicated, is assumed to be immanent in the natural laws and their

action, and to be working out the end of the world's development by a purposive adjustment of those laws. The binary division or discontinuous growth of the primitive cell is then the appearance of the same spirit in two forms according to the view adopted here. As organisms multiply according to the laws of evolution it is still the same spirit appearing in so many forms. And it is also owing to this fact that the different organisms are only different forms of the 'same spirit that there is an inherent tendency for attraction among them. And this tendency for attraction on which sufficient stress has been laid and which is to develop into the future ethical bond, increases in strength as life gets more and more perfected. This, it will be seen, ought to mean that there is a gradual progress made towards the Spirit appearing in the various forms of the animals recognising itself as one and the same. As life gets more and more perfected and reason develops the principle of sympathy of likeness and the principle of co-operation, developing in the course of the evolution of perception and reason, considerably facilitate the growth of this bond until at last this bond assumes the name of ethical union among individuals of the most advanced type. Among such individuals Altruism develops with the development of intelligence, which in its turn receives a fresh impetus of growth from this advanced altruistic nature, in so far as the kindly co-operation and willing renunciation implied in such a nature are highly favourable to the expansion of knowledge and enlightenment in regard to ultimate truths. Altruism and knowledge thus act and react upon each other, and the highest development of Altruism in individual nature, which goes hand in hand with the highest degree of enlightenment, ought to mean the unconscious doing unto others as if towards self. The perfection of Altruism being assumed here as the ultimate goal of progress the individuals of the most highly perfected type will gradually learn to merge their own interests in those of others until they arrive at the stage when this process of merging becomes so complete that the altruistic conduct is pursued as if towards self unconsciously. This it seems to me is the highest and the noblest conception of perfect ethical nature. Automatic altruistic activity begotten of deliberate practice of the same for generations, or, in other words, doing virtuous actions or actions involving very great self-sacrifice without any thought of a return, or, again, performance of altruistic deeds, as if prompt

ed by the instinct of self for its own preservation and enjoyment, is a conception of ethical perfection which is second to none in sublimity and grandeur. When this stage is reached, when the individuals of the Ethical Community have come closest together when they have learnt to almost identify their own interests with those of others, the enlightenment which has already reached its acme of perfection through various sources receives its final instalment of a glow from this greatest devotion to duty and the highest regard for the interests of others, culminating in the closest attachment of spirit to spirit, there dawns upon the the spirit the fresh knowledge that the differentiation as individuals is only apparent, that all selves are but one and are but the manifestations of the Supreme Spirit. This is the course which evolution seems destined to take. The progressive development of Altruism, immanently guided through immutable laws by the Supreme Spirit, will end in the thorough identification of interests and eventually in the dawning of the light that all selves are identical and are but the adumbrations of the Supreme Spirit. In this self realization, again, *i. e.*, in this understanding of the real nature of Self is implicated the ethical consummation, ethical conduct reducing itself practically to conduct towards self and all altruistic considerations resolving themselves into considerations towards self.

It will thus be seen that Altruism which began in self-love has ended in self-love. We saw that the struggle for the life of others indicated in the binary division of the primitive cell arose out of the struggle for life and we now see that the march of Altruism towards the goal of perfection, which is simply the march of the same struggle for others under a different name, has ended in the performance of duty with the knowledge, that the individual towards whom or for whose benefit the duty is performed is none other than Self or the Supreme Spirit. This is just as it ought to be ; for, it is a phenomenon of cyclic evolution that that which comes later goes earlier and that which comes earlier goes later, and accordingly, the root of self-sacrifice which was observed to be implicated in the root of self-love was still posterior to it in time, and in the realisation of self as one with the other selves and with the Supreme Spirit all Altruism seems really to vanish. That Altruism thus culminates in self-realisation is in itself a proof of the fact that its ultimate foundations ought to be sought not in the devices of

man to maintain his supremacy over the sentient creation, nor in any principle other than that which sustains and guides the progressing universe, but in the blissful exercise of thought of that Supreme Principle itself an exercise indulged in for the sake of its attendant bliss or enjoyment, and resulting in all the glorious expansion in the living and the non-living of the universe with the immutable natural laws, guiding its progress in solemn silence and significant perfection.

These conclusions to which we are inevitably led by adopting the latest scientific development of theistic ethics and by supposing an immanent spirit in the ways of evolution are in perfect accord with the conclusions on the same subject reached by the Vedânta Philosophy. The ethics of the Vedânta prescribe that the end of ethical action is the liberation of soul from Sanchita Karma or past deeds in expiation of one or more of which this form of existence is allotted for the soul. By performing virtuous actions in this and subsequent lives, the *Sanchita Karma* might be gradually extinguished until its total annihilation leads to true knowledge, *i.e.*, knowledge of the identity of the soul with other souls and with Brahman. There is the difference however that, whereas in the ethical progress we have sketched out in the foregoing pages, ethical perfection is reached by the gradual evolution of more and more perfected types of spirit by means of heredity and other natural causes, the ethical acquisitions of the father being handed down to the son in the form of increased ethical capabilities or tendencies in the same direction, in the Ethics of the Vedânta the soul in its progressive transmigrations, as regulated by Karma, does not pass from father to son but from one animal frame to another, carrying on its back all the load of past Karma and lightening the load in each career of life by the performance of virtuous deeds, until in the most perfect animal frame a rigorous adherence to virtue enables it to gain its freedom from the bondage of Karma and obtain re-union with Brahman. The heredity of the Vedânta must be viewed purely in a spiritual light and humanity being regarded as one whole, the sins of a remote ancestor may be visited on the child and the iniquities of a member of a Royal household may be expiated in the succeeding generation by the noble deeds of a humble peasant. The Vedântist asserts that the performance of virtuous deeds leads to true

knowledge, *i.e.*, the recognition of the identity of the soul with Brahman. He also says that such deeds, in order that they may tend to the realisation of the aforesaid end, should be performed in the right spirit, *i.e.*, regardless of the benefits to self as the result of such performance. After true knowledge is attained it is not necessary that the worldly concerns should be given up altogether. A man may attain to true knowledge and yet live in this world doing good deeds and ministering to the comforts of his fellow-beings. Though the immediate motive to virtue is the annihilation of past Karma and the attainment of eternal bliss in true knowledge, yet the ultimate sanction for virtuous conduct is, in the view of the Vedântist, furnished by the light lodged within. In other words, the knowledge of the individual soul that it is one with the other souls and with Brahman is the internal prompting for virtuous conduct. But this light is prevented from serving as a practical guide on account of *Avidya* or ignorance which envelops it. It is rendered serviceable, however, by the teachings of the sacred books and by the examples of the sages. This internal prompting for morality, it will be noted, corresponds to the inherent tendency for attraction and its subsequent developments in the higher stages of evolution. The worldly benefits accruing from the practice of virtue are accounted in our scheme as efficiently operative towards the strengthening of the internal prompting in the earlier stages of ethical development. In the later stages absolute indifference to the results of acts is what itself comes to be the aim of ethical action in the course of Evolution. In concluding, I cannot do better than quote the words of Professor Max Müller on the nature of the law of Karma and its influence upon human character—" If a man feels that, what without any fault of his own he suffers in this life can only be the result of some of his own former acts he will bear his suffering with more resignation like a debtor who is paying off an old debt. And if he knows besides that in this life he may by suffering not only pay off his old debts,but actually lay by moral capital for the future, he has a motive for goodness which is not more selfish than it ought to be. The belief that no act whether good or bad, can be lost, is only the same belief in the moral world which our belief in the preservation of force is in the physical world. Nothing can be lost. And however sceptical we may be on the power of any ethical teaching and

its influence on the practical conduct of men and women, there can be no doubt that this doctrine of Karma has met with the widest acceptance and has helped to soften the sufferings of millions and to encourage them not only in their endurance of present evils but likewise in their efforts to improve their future condition."

A. SUBRAMANYA AIYAR.

THE USE TO INDIA OF HER RESIDENT EUROPEAN CHRISTIANS.

THERE is no more proper exercise of the faculty of statesman-like prescience, than the forming of a correct judgment as to when a question or a measure shall come within the domain of practical politics. The dream of the few becomes, in the story of a land, the reality of the public, after a few fleeting generations. Fifty years ago, the man who predicted the consolidation of the vast territories, over which Her Britannic Majesty's Viceregent now exercises the sway of his high office, would have scarcely dared to give his forecast utterance, and had he done so, it would only have made him the laughing stock of his day and hour. A quarter of a century ago, the now declared aspirations of what is known as the Congress party, had not taken shape even in the breasts of the first-fruits of Pan-Indian patriotism.

But the march of events has been strangely accelerated, and the liberal-minded on-looker, whether himself an Asiatic, a European, or an American, is ready to admit that the huge mass, welded together by the force of arms, and congealed by the compressing forces of an alien legislation, is already beginning to acquire a cohesion and a shapeliness, that hold out fair grounds for the expectation, that when in due time the swathing bands are removed, there will stand forth a political product, well fitted to take and maintain a recognised position amongst the Powers of the civilised world.

The composition of the amalgam is no doubt extraordinarily complex, but hardly more so than that of the great American Power, of which the very name legitimately proclaims its cohesion. When India is ready to stand alone, indeed before India is ready, it may reasonably be anticipated that many of the sub-divisions of the days of her anarchical chaos, will have disappeared, and that the major divisions which will alone survive when her cosmos has been achieved, will be much better material from which to conceive concerted action, than was that from which

the United States emerged from the final fusing and consolidation of their great Civil War.

But there is one community which stands on a different footing to all the others by which this vast territory is peopled. It is a community which to-day is but of very small numerical strength, and yet is already asserting its claims to recognition. It is a community which, it may safely be assumed, will develop rapidly both in numbers and influence in the near future, because it is the community which, before all others, is the result of the process by which India is being shaped and coagulated into being coherent, into becoming cohesive. In one of the "Imperialist" speeches, by which the present Secretary for the Colonies, Mr. Chamberlain, has so greatly increased his personal influence within the last ten years, he says,

"You cannot have omelettes without breaking eggs; you cannot destroy the practices of barbarism, of slavery, of superstition, which for centuries have desolated the interior of Africa, without the use of force."

India, at her worst, was never in so pitiable a condition as that to which the darkest parts of the 'Dark Continent' were reduced. But in India there has been, and to some extent there still is, a necessity for the employment of an alien force; eggs had to be broken, to make the omelette of the internal peace and order, which, it is hoped, may go, from strength to strength, until there arrives to her a Public Opinion, and a great National Conscience, such as are the mainsprings of the political life of the great American Commonwealth.

This alien force has not been, and will not be by any means confined to military operations, though these naturally show the largest pile of broken egg-shells. There have been legislative operations, mercantile operations, and above all educational operations, which have owed their conception and their achievement alike to the *force majeure* of the British raj, and in and for the conduct of which there has been a constant stream of what, were India as sparsely populated as America, Australasia, and Africa, would have been styled here as they are styled there—, "Emigrants," or rather "Immigrants." Most of these it is true have never contemplated, on leaving their native land, any change of domicile, and the European man has yet to be discovered who, finding himself successful in India, has announced

his desire to be naturalised as an "Indian,"—as a citizen still of the empire, but no longer as a Britisher but as a British Indian.

Still, for many generations, India has been receiving "immigrants" from Great Britain and Ireland, whose presence in the land has had very marked effect upon its destinies. To them she owes her laws, her commerce, her educational institutions, and, if the British troops are included, to them she owes her internal peace so essential to the enjoyment of the other institutions.

This is not the place to stop to consider what price India has paid; it may have been a fair wage, it may have been, (it probably has been, human nature being human,) unfairly excessive.

What concerns the question now under consideration is, that the outcome of all these generations of "immigrants," is to-day a factor in Indian politics, and will develop into a still more important one, before India finds herself standing alone.

The Government of India upon occasions terms the community of these immigrants and their descendants, whether of pure or mixed marriages, "*European Christians*," and it is a convenient name by which to embrace India's immigrant population from Europe, whether of the first or succeeding generations.

What use will India as a Power find for this class of her subjects, and what will be their political position?

To deal with the second question first, it may safely be asserted that these immigrants and their descendants, will, in an Independent, self-governing India, be a very different body to what they have been in the past or are to-day.

'John Company Bahadur' kept special rods in pickle for immigrants who did not wear the collar of his own service; he called them 'Interlopers', and did his best to suppress or deport them.

Under 'the mild sovereignty of the Queen', the non-official immigrant has no doubt fared better, but he is still repressed with all the force that the official element dares to display. The "Warrant of Precedence," the "Private Entre'e List," know him not, whilst the son perhaps of his father's game-keeper—a 'competition-wallah'—refers to him gracefully as a 'box-wallah'!

But to suppress, or to repress, the immigrant a fellow-countryman, clothed with a modicum of brief authority, is required. Or, to put it differently, the non-official immigrant, when he no

longer has to deal with a strong official bureaucracy composed of men of his own race, may safely be counted upon to assert himself, in the same sort of way, if not to the same extent, as his fellow in the other continents.

It will not be practicable, nor will it be the policy, of a native Indian bureaucracy, to improve the European Christian immigrant off the face of India. It is, on the contrary, to be expected, that this community will be recognised by its pure Asiatic fellow-citizens of the new Power as an important political factor. And, looking to the success which has attended the efforts of the Anglo-Saxon at self-assertion elsewhere in the world of to-day, it does not seem unfair for an Englishman, though writing in a pure Asiatic organ, to predict, that the 'European Christian' citizen of India will claim and obtain his full share of the loaves and fishes of official employment by the State.

It is at least conceivable, it is more than probable that the English language will be increasingly recognised as that of the Supreme Courts of Judicature, of the Academies, of the higher ranks of the press, and of the marts of an independent India. For, by the time she stands forth as a self-governing Power, it may well be, that a Federation of the great British colonies will have borne their part with their mother-country, and with the United States of America, in making English the language of wealth, and consequently of authority, throughout the world. Under such conditions the European Christian population of India, constantly recruited as it is sure to be by succeeding generations of immigrants from the West, will acquire a fresh and special importance as one of the strongest links between Independent India and the other civilised Powers of the day.

Has not the time already arrived, when those who are seeking to prepare India for her future, should frankly recognise the change we have indicated as likely to occur, and find the truest wisdom in a policy of inviting Western immigrants to come in and help them? It should perhaps be explained that reference is not made here to the British official in India, large as is the part that he plays to-day in the great work of this preparation. His labours are and must be altruistic,—they are analogous to those of a veteran sovereign, setting his realm in order, with a view to his own final abdication of power.

No, the men referred to are those fore-runners of the future politicians of an Independent India, who are feeling their way

on India's hill ranges and uplands,—places which compare favourably with the best tracts of Rhodesia. When will steps be taken towards encouraging foreign immigrants to come out, and people these territories? The British Government has had its hands, no doubt, more than full, with governing the population it found ready made upon its occupation of its Indian territories. But even to it, there might surely have been given the wisdom to see, how India would gain by an addition to her population, which would indeed add to its numbers, but would decrease the difficulty of her too great dependence on other lands for her wants?

There is a school of Anglo-Indian statesmen and politicians, —perhaps the wisest and best school,—which finds for India her safest frontier from invasion by land, in pathless tracts of country sparsely inhabited by tribe of Ishmaelites. When will there be a school of Indian statesmen and politicians, which shall see the wisdom of gaining for India an immigrant population all over the high ground of her vast systems of Hill ranges?—a population which, as a political factor, will always be in too much of a numerical minority to be a source of danger to the independence of India at large, but which will, more than any other factor, contribute to make India vertebrate for self-government, coherent for the preservation of her autonomy.

Precautions would have to be taken: terms and conditions could, fairly and properly, be imposed. No land, for example, should be given to a temporary sojourner. He alone should be eligible for the tenure of land, who should have been a certain time in the country, who should have shown himself possessed of some means, and who, before all, should have become *a naturalised Indian*. Coupled with these conditions should be a wise liberality, so that the result should be a population worth paying for, and that would mean one that had been paid for, an investment of India's national funds. The Colonies owe much of their prosperity to their discriminating encouragement of immigrants, an encouragement which entails an initial outlay by the Government which produces a manifold increase of revenue in after years. The future of India, were this policy adopted, would surely have special mention of the services to her of these her "Highlanders".

But it is not necessary to consider this question, of the utilisation of India's European Christian population, entirely from the

standpoint of a more or less distant future. There is one salient respect in which this community comes into the practical politics of our own day.

If the 'history of our own times' teaches one lesson more clearly than another, it is that England as a Power does not possess by her existing Military arrangements, sufficient Armies either in quantity or quality, to enable her to be true to herself in the event of the arrival of a universal war conflagration. India can indeed make out a strong case, for first call upon the services of such troops as England has, but it is hardly open to question that with Canada, Rhodesia, and Australia calling for help, India's claims, however righteous, (seeing how largely she has contributed to the up-keep, nay to the very creation, of those troops,) would be disregarded, and her progress towards consolidation be rudely interrupted, by her lands and her seas again becoming the battle-fields of belligerent Foreign Powers. To be ready for such a contingency can hardly be considered a policy of over-carefulness, or of meeting trouble half-way.

But without such a dire event taking place, can it be reasonably said that India is to-day receiving the best value obtainable, for the vast sums expended from her Treasuries, upon the Army of the empire? The answer to this question, from the standpoint of an Independent India, must be in the negative. There is no need to take a side, in the controversy as to the comparative merits of the Short Service and the Long Service systems, from the purely insular point of view. But even, if it be conceded that Lord Wolseley, and the other supporters of the Short Service rules, can make out a good case in England, it by no means follows that their arguments have equal force, when the merits of the two systems are under consideration, from the Indian point of view For India, considered alone, the weight of evidence is in favor of a Long Service Army. It is found that, even in England, the introduction of the Short Service system has greatly militated against successful recruiting. In these days of Board Schools, the old class of victims of the Sergeant Kite of byegone years, has been replaced by shrewd scholars, who can appraise the value of a career as a Short Service soldier only too accurately. And each year swells the number of men who find themselves standing idle in the market-place, because, in the years they followed the colours, they have lost their aptitude for the trade, or handicraft, which had been their calling before they 'took the shilling.'

An extension of knowledge may reasonably be expected to make the English recruit still more shy, if he gets to know the extra risks of serving in India ;—the game will not be worth the candle.

Assuming that India decides that she had better spend her money on an Army of her own,—and the assumption is one that every foreseeing Asiatic Indian politician will feel justified in making,—it may safely be contended that there will always be found a necessity to have a considerable part of such Army composed of European Christians, who ought to be naturalised Indians.

The secret history of the present warfare on the Frontier has yet to be written, but there seems only too much reason to fear that the losses sustained by the British troops points to the presence amongst the enemy of men who have learned to fight, and more particularly learned to shoot, whilst serving with the British colours. The fighting value of some of the pure Asiatic troops is incontestable, but if once the uneasy feeling gains ground that they are only loyal to their salt whilst in actual receipt of it, their very valour becomes a source of danger instead of a bulwark of Defence to the State. And the intelligent Indian patriot will readily concede that, if the prestige of the British raj fails to keep its time-expired or discharged sepoys loyal to it, when no longer in receipt of British pay, there would be still more ground for apprehension, by an Independent India from the same direction.

It has been publicly alleged by their local Association,—and the statement has passed unchallenged by the high authorities to which it was made,—that there are already some five thousand of the Anglo-Indian and Eurasian communities, in the British Army, and there are an appreciable number of men of the same class, who have put in their term of Short Service, and are now back again in Civil life in India. Here is material, ready to the hand of India, from which to make up the full strength of the European Christian troops she will require, if she has a Long Service Army of her own. The words "make up" are used advisedly, for it will always be well to keep in such troops a leaven of men recruited in England. Because it is difficult to find there recruits who will volunteer to enlist for Short Service, it does not follow that there will be the same, or any difficulty, in finding men who will gladly embrace the career of a soldier, when it *is* a 'career'—a practically life-long employment. The

East India Company proved the excellence of its material, when its Madras Fusiliers were hurried from Persia to take part in the fighting in 1857-58, and soldiering in India in those days was a far less attractive career than it is now, and will be in the future.

In short an Independent India could, with her large acreage of hill tracts still available, offer inducements to those serving in her Army, which would attract some of the best fighting material in the world. It is no flight of fancy to foresee the possibility of a 'Landwher' of such men as the Gordon Highlanders, whose praise is to-day in all men's hearts and mouths, created by grants of homesteads, with a condition of Military service attached to the tenure of them, and with the still more important condition of naturalisation as Indians.

This new race of Indian Highlanders would find it difficult, if not impossible, to surpass the pure Asiatic Highlander in some of the best qualities of the soldier, they could hardly be more brave, more keen, or more enduring. But it is not unfair to question whether the existing Asiatic Highlanders do not to some extent fall within the category of "fighting animals,"—splendid combatants, but creatures to whom fighting is the breath of the nostrils, indispensable to their existence. The Sikh is still a name to conjure with when Indian troops are talked of, but whilst his reputation still retains its quality, it is to be believed that the *quantity* of Sikhs who will bear arms, will decrease with each coming generation, as the attractions of a life of peace are increasingly developed under the new conditions of their native country. So when the Pathan, or the Afridi, or the Ghoorka, comes to have to make his election between life-long civilian ease, and soldiering with long spells of inaction, it may be expected that he too will cease to be a fighting man, and will declare in favor of peaceful pursuits.

In the "sometime European" Christian Highlander of the future, India would possess a class of subjects who would weigh correctly, as the Asiatic Highlander cannot do, the claims of the State upon them,—claims which may be summarised by saying, "Be orderly in times of peace, be soldierly in times of war." When the United States of America were suddenly plunged into Civil War, their "Army" upon paper was a wholly negligable quantity. Before the strife ceased, thousands upon thousands of men had received the baptism of fire, and re-United America

could have put upon any battle-field in the world, an army of veteran soldiers, which no European Power could have matched.

If India shows a wise encouragement to the right class of European immigrants, and regulates the numbers to whom such encouragement is shown, she will build up for herself a bulwark, the very presence of which will deter foreign invasion. It will no longer be an alien *raj*, (for England *is* an alien Power, however altruistic has been her rule of late years), protecting a wealth-giving appanage of its Crown. It will be a united independent India, one of the prominent component parts of which will be her, (what we may continue here to call), "European Christian" population.

It may be said that all that has been written above ought to be dismissed as a futile, and possibly a dangerous, chimera. But however crudely expressed, the ideas sought to be sketched out, are the outcome of some years of thought, and of a very earnest desire to serve both India at large, and her European Christian immigrant population, to which the writer belongs. And if these ideas give some food for reflection to the Asiatic leaders of thought who are shortly to assemble in Congress, it may be that they may yet prove the germ of a policy which will recognise, firstly, that India has to reckon with her European Christian population in her aspirations towards independence, and, secondly, that the hour is already at hand, if it has not indeed actually struck, when the "Congress" party will do well to see, what fair offers can, even now, be suggested to the existing Government, as offers which it would be to the benefit of India, to proffer to European Christian immigrants, who will come and throw in their lot with the Asiatics, as an integral part of the Independent India of the future.

FREDERIC ROWLANDSON.

THE UNREST IN INDIA.

"THE foundations of this Empire were laid long ago by men who clearly foresaw what might be done with India; it has been completed and organized in Her Majesty's reign; the date of the Queen's accession stands nearly half way in its short history, being exactly eighty years after Clive's exploit at Plassey. *And the permanent consolidation of the union between Great Britain and India will demand all the political genius—the sympathetic insight as well as the scientific methods—of England, co-operating with the good will and growing intelligence of the Indian people.*" The sentence, I have italicized, gives in a few trenchant words the opinion of Sir Alfred Lyall, recently expressed in an interesting paper on "India under the Queen's reign" in the *Nineteenth Century;* and if these words are pondered over it is not difficult to discover the reason for the "unrest"—to call the existent feeling by no harsher name—which has, for sometime past, made itself unmistakably felt in Hindustan. No critic—not even the most partial—of the Indian administration, would unhesitatingly—or for that matter, even after mature consideration—assent to the statement that the types of men who laid the foundation of English Empire in India, long years ago, are the same as those who now control the destinies of the people in this, as it is now fashionable to call India, "Land of regrets." The great and good men, who—after the pardonable excesses characteristic of a conquering race—"clearly foresaw what might be done" with the Indian people, in singleness of heart and earnestness of purpose set themselves to the Herculean task of evolving order out of chaos; and stone by stone built up the edifice of Empire. It is a structure which is without a parallel in the history of humanity and is even now the envy of admiring nations. But construction is at all times more difficult of achievement than consolidation or disintegration. I use the words "consolidation and disintegration" advisedly, for it very frequently happens—paradoxically as it may seem—that both processes go on together coincidently. Nature herself acts in this way. An advance is always balanced by a retreat.

But in human affairs—the disintegration sometimes is greater in its effect than the consolidation, and it is precisely this result that is one of the main causes of the discontent, the sullen resignation, arising from a hopeless despair—that, sometimes finds expression in puerile and desperate acts of hostility—which is, at present, characteristic of the Indian people—and be it here remarked, not only of the Indian people, but people in every land and every clime where waves the British flag. The press daily informs us of attack and outrages on Englishmen in Burmah, in the Straits Settlements, in Egypt, in Africa, on the Frontier—in short at all places where Englishmen hold the reins of power. It tells us also of the hatred that has sprung up amongst all nations against Englishmen, and why? It may be that, in the case of nations, England's unexampled prosperity is the cause of ill-feeling; but this very prosperity and power, in the case of alien people subject to English rule, should be a cause of rejoicing. Rudyard Kipling, with the precience that is the peculiar gift of the poet in his jubilee hymn shadows forth the reason, and his prayer

"Lord God of Hosts be with us yet
Lest we forget, lest we forget."

will not have been written in vain if it teaches Englishmen that the absence of genuine sympathy, of generous conciliation, and a statesmanlike grasp of the conditions that environ peoples dependent on them for wise and just dealing, must, if not remedied in time, create disaffection and hatred and end in the loss of Empire. The situation undoubtedly demands "all the political genius—the sympathetic insight as well as the scientific methods" of our English rulers, and it should not be a matter of insuperable difficulty to the nation which has established this Empire to—by wholesome and judicious methods—to consolidate and bring about the true unity of East and West. I mean to make a digression for a moment, to indicate the remarkably short-sighted and inadequate views expressed in many quarters regarding the unrest in India. The Anglo-Indian Journalist with every desire to be impartial and explanatory—and to whom indigenous journalism is the *bete noir* of existence, points to the cause of the unrest as resulting from inflammatory articles in the Native Press and in the same breath unctiously rejoices in the conviction that the opinions in Native journals are not for one moment to be supposed as expressive of those of "the masses"—

because the masses have no opinions and never peruse the papers—obnoxious or otherwise! The apparent contradiction involved in this assertion is necessarily ignored or not thought of. Others, whose opinions are given as those of experts, unhesitatingly lay it down as an axiomatic truth that the emissaries of Turkey or Afghanistan are secretly undermining the confidence of the people—Mahomedans in particular—and inciting them to disloyalty and rebellion. Party-spirit, on the one hand, condemns in uncompromising terms the "forward policy" as answerable for frontier disasters and the disaffection of the Press; and on the other expatiates on the alienation of Indian money and Indian material—in the shape of Indian sepoys—for purely European obligations and necessities as the cause of the evil. Some blame the Government for the poverty of the people and say that, as the people have nothing to lose, they probably think there is everything to gain by a subversion of the existing order of things. The plague operations in Poona; the Age of Consent Bill; the lately enlarged Legislative Councils; inflammatory text books; the false interpretation of history, the suppression of pilgrimages and many other causes are advanced as *individually* responsible for the "unrest" so clearly visible in this Empire. Human Society is so complex and many-sided that it may be, that some, if not all, of these reasons may be responsible for individual persons being against the Government; and it must be said that some of the reasons advanced are certainly worthy of consideration in view to their being remedied. The last reason I have purposely abstained from including with the others. It is that "Higher Education" is responsible for the ferment going on—and that if India is to be retained, Higher Education must be withheld. While agreeing to some extent with the persons who say Higher Education is responsible for the leaven of discontent so manifest now, I cannot give my adhesion to the corollary that the Higher Education must be discontinued. The class of people who deprecate Higher Education being given to the people are in the same boat as the Anglo-Indian Journalist, because the higher education has not as yet touched even the outer fringe of the great mass of the Indian people—and it follows that if there is unrest among them—and that there is must be recognized by every impartial spectator of events—that feeling must be due to some other cause. There isn't the shadow of a doubt, in my mind, that the higher education is responsible in

some measure for the discontent in the country; because it has taught certain sections of the people to recognize the evils they are suffering from and to desire improvement, while other sections are able to discern inconsistencies and differences apparent to Englishmen themselves. It must not for a moment be supposed that because the masses are not educated they do not take an interest in the administration of affairs. Englishmen have lived for over a century in India, and it would be safe to say that few of them now in the administrative services understand the people as well as did their predecessors of a hundred years ago. The *chuppate* of the mutiny spread over the peninsula from Cuch to Calcutta and from Delhi to Cape Comorin in a few weeks; and even now what is done and said at the Presidency towns is repeated a week after, with additions, and running commentaries, a thousand miles away. The facility of communication afforded by railways is a great factor in the spread of opinions and news. But quiescence is the characteristic of the people. Their lives are too barren of all that tends to stimulate thought or action, and so their inaction is taken for ignorance and their unremitting toil and ox-like resignation for contentment. It must not escape attention that the leading, the intellectual, class is always the true representative of a State; and the leaven afforded by this class will eventually go to leaven the masses, and stir them to action. The remedy is clear, and that is—not the suppression of higher education, but its extension and greater diffusion. But then, in extending such education to the people, its value increases in proportion as it permits or encourages the natural tendency for development to be satisfied.

"More life and fuller, 's what we want
More life and richer, for which we pant."

And if the additional and richer life bestowed by education is to bring in beneficial results the method of its extension must be scientific. By scientific diffusion of education is not meant—and my meaning I hope is tolerably clear—the teaching of Science, but education in accordance with the natural tendencies of the people. As Sir Arthur Havelock said the other day in Native Cochin—"Let us not change the existing lamps for new ones but improve and brighten those already existing." I will now return to the consideration of the "consolidation and disintegration" which I have already alluded to, and indicate to the best of

my ability how these processes have to a very considerable extent tended to unsettle the minds of Indians. To a people yet in intellectual swaddling clothes, so far as regards all true knowledge is concerned, abrupt transitions, even in the matter of the most ordinary affairs, are a prolific source of distrust and alarm. Legislative interference, before the people have become thoroughly adapted to their environment or before the leaven of education has worked its influence—in regard to their most cherished convictions and customs, sanctified by time, has been productive of much ill-will. It is gruesome and positively repulsive to Englishmen to see a young girl married before the age of, say, 15 or 20; but if a tribe like the Afrides cannot be intimidated by 50 years of successful warfare against them, it is not to be supposed that a great people like the Indians can be made virtuous or be persuaded to relinquish time-honored customs—be they ever so barbarous—by the fiat of a law. The principle is right, but the application of it is faulty. So in other matters, notably the Poonah plague operations. To the ordinary caste Hindu the common European soldier is the very incarnation of all that is repellant, and—however nobly—and I firmly believe that that "very strong man", Mr. Thomas Atkins, behaved himself as a gentleman, and fought the plague as nobly in the dens of Poonah as he did the Tribesmen in the Chakdara pass—he acted, and when the best and the utmost has been said the selection of European soldiers to invade the plague-stricken houses of the Deccan was a measure as unwise as it was inconsiderate. The consolidation aimed at in passing the Age of Consent Bill resulted in disintegration. Will Englishmen ever forget the cry of alarm raised by their countrymen in India and in England by the Ilbert Bill? And yet that measure, to a nation saturated with the intelligence of the West, and holding the dominant position in India, created a scare and an indignation that has not died down yet. I wish to be impartial, I wish to show how, in so comparatively trifling a matter, the disintegration proceeded a step further, and so in various other directions. At the same time, there are noble Europeans who, without seeking popular praise or favour, endeavour to uphold with honor, in season, and out of season, the justice and greatness of England. While these are consolidating slowly, the disintegrating process of faddists, ignorant of the peculiar idiosyncrasies of the Indian

people, and of the methods and modes of Government, goes on apace. Permanence of Government can only be secured even in England by the good-will and co-operation of the people. English kings and French Emperors furnish us with examples in this connection. "Brute force," says Professor Draper, "holds communities together as an iron nail binds pieces of wood by the compression it makes—a compression depending on the force with which it has been hammered in. It also holds more tenaciously if a little rusted with age. But intelligence binds like a screw." And now comes the method—"The things it has to unite must be carefully adjusted to its thread. It must be gently turned, not driven, and so it retains the cementing parts firmly together." The Indian Government has often used the nail in preference to the screw. A few more words and I have done. I compared, to their obvious disadvantage, the Englishmen of to-day with their predecessors of a century or more ago. The means of easy communication between England and India; the greater numbers of his compatriots in the country; the exclusiveness resulting therefrom and the consequent lack of knowledge of the Indian character act like so many wedges to separate the Englishman from the Indian. The Englishman of former days tried to know the people and the people came to know him. Now-a-days one does not know the other, and does not care to know, and so misunderstandings occur, and the breach—which naturally exists by reason of race, and colour, and religion, and speech—grows wider and deeper day by day. The "unrest" in India should not astonish the student of history. It should certainly be no sphinxia problem to the philosopher. "As knowledge grows from more to more," discontent must result and a little effervescence is to be expected. It took centuries before the Norman and the Saxon coalesced and became one nation. After centuries of unity (?) Ireland with folded hands stands aloof from England. Can it be expected then that Englishmen and Indians, widely diverse as they are, can be drawn into the bonds of friendship and amity without a little unrest,—without little explosions of one kind or another. The British Government, in my opinion, need not be alarmed. The manifestations of discontent and temper explain themselves, if carefully considered, in a very ordinary way, and are but indications that there is something wrong with the machinery of Government. The political genius of the English people

ought to be able to cope with the matter. A greater and more genuinely expressed sympathy for the Indian people, a studied and gentleman-like conciliation of, and consideration for, their weaknesses and their idiosyncrasies, and a statesman-like grasp of their condition—in every aspect of that term, is what is needed to banish, for ever, the "unrest" which has been provocative of so much discussion. In conclusion, I would deprecate Native journalists of some degree of reputation ascribing unworthy motives to Englishmen in the execution of their duty and vapouring about the future political extinction of either the British or the Indian people. The Indian people have as yet no political existence, and their political extinction is therefore impossible. Such remarks are certainly not calculated to bridge the ever-widening gap of hostility, which is now becoming so apparent, and which every lover of India should do his utmost to lessen.

S.

THE TAMILS: EIGHTEEN HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

(*Continued.*)

THE principal officers of State were the high priest, the chief astrologer, the ministers and the commanders of the army.(1) There were special officers appointed to perform the duties of Judges and Magistrates: but the King was the supreme and final arbiter in all civil and criminal cases. The presiding Judge in each Court wore a peculiar headgear by which he was distinguished from other officers of the Court.(2) Justice was administered free of charge to the suitors; but the punishments were very severe and hence crimes were rare. A thief arrested with the stolen property in his possession was beheaded.(3) A man caught in the act of adultery was killed.(4) One who had trespassed into another's dwelling with the intention of committing adultery, had his legs cut off.(5) Superstitious fears sometimes led the kings to commit acts of great cruelty in the name of justice. The orders of the king which concerned the people were proclaimed throughout his capital city with beat of drums, by officers riding on elephants.(5a)

Customs, tolls and land-tax formed the chief sources of revenue. Customs were levied at all the sea-ports, where the goods landed were impressed with a seal bearing the royal emblem, and were removed to the merchant's warehouses after payment of duty.(6) Tolls were collected on the trunk-roads used by caravans and at the frontiers of each kingdom.(7) The land tax was paid in money or in kind at the option of the farmer. The tribute paid by vassal chiefs and princes, the booty gained in border expeditions, and the profits of royal demesnes, such as the pearl fishery, wild elephants and forest produce, also formed a considerable portion of the king's income.

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(1) Chilapp-adikâram, xxvi. ll. 3 and 4.
(2) Maduraik-kânchi, l. 494.
(3) Chilapp-adikâram, xx. ll. 64 and 65.
(4) Nâladiyâr.
(5) Ibid.
(5a) Chilapp-adikâram, xxiii. ll. 130, 131.
(6) Paddinap-pâlai, ll. 125 to 135.
(7) Perum-pân-ârrup-padai, l. 81.

The king was the head of society as well as of the Government. He freely mixed with the people, though surrounded as usual by his bodyguards and other attendants. He took the lead in every festivity in his capital; and in times of famine or pestilence he was foremost to perform penances or sacrifices. He shared the joys and sorrows of the people, or at least, the etiquette of the Court compelled him to do so. The people were so much attached to some of their sovereigns, that there were instances of the population of whole villages forsaking their homes and fields, and settling within the territory of their own king, when an invader had taken possession of their villages.(8) On every festive occasion, whether in the public temples or in private dwellings, prayers were offered by the people for victory and long life to their king. "May (our king) Athan live for ever! may (our king) Avini live for ever! So prayed my mother," says a maiden to her companion, on her return from the temple, "but, I prayed in silence, may (my lover) the lord of many a fertile field return home speedily."(9)

The distinction of the four castes Brahma, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra, observed by the Aryas, did not exist amongst the Tamils. The expression "twice-born" applied by Aryans to those who were sanctified by the investiture of the sacred thread, was always used in Ancient Tamil literature to denote only the Brahmins, and it is evident therefore that the Kshatriya and Vaisya who wore the sacred thread were not known in Tamilakam. Amongst the pure Tamils the class most honored was that of the *Arivar* or "sages." They pretended to know the three stages of time, that is, the past, present and future. They led a retired and religious life, dwelling outside the great towns. While the Brahmins were not unwilling to mix in the society of courtezans and prostitutes, (10) and acted as messengers between lovers, the "sages" strictly avoided them. (11)

Next in rank to the *Arivar* were the *Ulavar* or farmers. The Arivar were ascetics: but of the men living in society, the farmers occupied the highest position. They formed the nobili-

(8) Kalith-thokai, s. 78.
(9) Ainkuru-nuru. ss. 1 to 10.
Kalith-thokai, s. 103, 104, 105, 106.
(10) Tholkâppiyam, III. s. 502.
Kalith-thokai, s. 72. ll. 17 to 20.
Chilapp-adikâram, xiii. ll. 71 to 82.
(11) Tholkâppiyam III, s. 503.

ty, or the landed aristocracy, of the country. They were also called the *Vellâlar*, "lords of the flood," or *Karalar*, "lords of the clouds," titles expressive of their skill in controlling floods and in storing water for agricultural purposes. The Chera, Chola and Pandyan kings, and most of the petty chiefs of Tamilakam belonged to the tribe of Vellâlas. The poor families of Vellâlas who owned small estates were generally spoken of as the *Veel-kudi-Ulavar* or "the fallen Vellâlas," implying thereby that the rest of the Vellâlas were wealthy land-holders. (12) When Karikâl the Great defeated the Aruvâlar and annexed their territory to his kingdom, he distributed the conquered lands amongst Vellâla chiefs. (13) The descendants of some of these chiefs are to this day in possession of their lands, which they hold as petty Zemindars under the British Government.(14) They are now known as *Mudalis* or "the First Caste." The Vellâla families who conquered Vadukam, or the modern Telugu country, were called Velamas, and the great Zemindars there still belong to the Velama caste. In the Canarese country, the Vellâlas founded the Bellâl dynasty which ruled that country for several centuries. The Vellâlas were also called the Gangakula or Gangavamsa, because they derived their descent from the great and powerful tribe named Gangâvidæ which inhabited the valley of the Ganges, as mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy. A portion of Mysore which was peopled mostly by Vellâlas was called Gangavâdi in the tenth and eleventh centuries of the Christian era. Another dynasty of kings of this tribe who ruled Orissa in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was known as the Gangavamsa.

The *Aiyar* and *Vedduvar*, or the shepherds and huntsmen, were next in rank to the *Ulaver*.(15) Below the shepherds were the artizans such as Goldsmiths, Blacksmiths, Carpenters, Potters &c., and after them came the military class that is the *Padaiâdchier* or the armed men. Last of all were the *Valayar* and *Pulayar* or the fishermen and scavengers.

When men of the higher classes passed in the streets, the lower classes made way for them.(16) The Pulayan or scavenger on meeting a nobleman bowed before him, with both his

(12) Chilapp-adikaram, V. l. 43.
Pura-nânuru. s. 230. l. 13.
(13) Thondai-mandalap-paddiyam.
(14) The Zemindars of Cheyâr, Chunampet, &c., in the Chingleput District.
(15) Kalith-thokai, s. 105, l. 7.
(16) Chilapp-adikâram, xvi. l. 107.

hands joined in a posture of supplication.(17) Slavery was however unknown amongst the Tamils, and this is strong evidence of their superior civilisation in this early period.

The division of classes amongst the Tamils as described above bears a striking resemblance to that of the people of the Ancient Magadha Empire as recorded by Megasthenes. According to him, the population was divided into seven classes. The *first* in rank were the philosophers: but in point of number they formed the smallest class. They were engaged by private persons to offer sacrifices and to perform other sacred rites. The king invited them at the beginning of the year to his palace, and at a great gathering they forewarned the multitudes about droughts and wet weather, and about calamities which may befall the State. These sages went about naked,living during winter in the open air to enjoy the sunshine, and during summer in meadows and low grounds under shady trees. The *second* class consisted of the husbandmen who devoted the whole of their time to tillage. They paid a fourth part of the produce of their soil, as tribute to their king. Herdsmen and hunters formed the *third* class. They led a wandering life tending their cattle on the hills, and living in tents. They paid their tribute in cattle, and received an allowance in grain from the king for clearing the land of wild beasts and birds which devour the seeds sown in the fields. The *fourth* class comprised those who worked at trades, vended wares, or were employed as labourers. Armourers and all artizans came under this class. The fighting men formed the *fifth* class. They were maintained at the king's expense, and had only military duties to perform. In times of peace they spent their time in idleness and drinking. The *sixth* class consisted of overseers, whose business it was to spy out what was going on in country and town, and report everything to the king or the magistrate. The *seventh* class consisted of councillors who advised the king or the magistrates of self-governed cities in the management of public affairs. The custom of the country forbade intermarriages between the classes, and no one was allowed to change from one class to another. For instance, a husbandman cannot become a herdsman, nor can he take a wife from the herdsman or artizan class. An exception was made in favor of the philosopher alone, who may be from any class, for his

(17) Kalith-thokai, s. 55. ll. 18 and 19.

life was not an easy one, and few attained the gift of prophecy. (18)

In the above description of the classes of society in ancient Magadha Megasthenes was clearly mistaken in reckoning spies or overseers and councillors as separate classes. The other classes correspond exactly with those amongst the ancient Tamils. This division of society amongst the Tamils and Magadhas seems to show that they belonged to a nation which had emerged out of barbarism at a very remote period, and had enjoyed a settled form of Government, free from violence and bloodshed, for several centuries. Their civilization was certainly older than that of the Ariyas, for amongst the latter the fighting men were next in rank to the priests, whereas amongst the Tamils, the farmers were next to the religious men, and the military class was below even that of the herdsmen and artizans.

The Brahmins who had begun to settle in Tamilakam, at least five or six centuries earlier than the period which I describe, tried to foist their caste system on the Tamils. In the earliest Tamil Grammar extant, which was composed by a Brahmin named Tholkâppiyam ,in the first or second century B.C., frequent allusions are made to the *Arivar* or "Sages." (19) But in the chapter in which he describes the classes of society, the author omits all mention of the *Arivar*, and places the Brahmins who wear the sacred thread as the first caste. (20) The kings, he says very guardedly, and not warriors, form the second caste, as if the three kings Chera, Chola and Pandya could form a caste; all who live by trade belong to the third caste. He does not say that either the kings or the merchants wear the sacred thread. Then he singles out the Vellalas and states that they have no other calling than the cultivation of the soil. Here he does not say that the Vellalas are Sudras, but indirectly implies that the ordinary Vellalas should be reckoned as Sudras, and that those Vellalas who were kings should be honored as Kshatriyas. This is the first attempt made by the Brahmins to bring the Tamils under their caste system. But in the absence of the Kshatriya, Vaisya, and Sudra castes in Tamilakam, they could not possibly succeed; and to this day the Vellala does not

(18) McCrindle's Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian, pp. 41 to 44, and 83 to 86.
(19) Tholkâppiyam III, ss 75, 193, 503, 510.
(20) Tholkâppiyam III, Chapter Marayipal.

take meals or drink water at the house of a Padaiyadchi, who calls himself a Kshatriya or a merchant who passes for a Vaisya. Tholkâppiyam alludes also, in his grammar, to the *Ayar* and *Vedduvar*, or the shepherds and huntsmen, but in the chapter on castes, he makes no mention either of them or of the Maravar, Valaiyar, Pulaiyar and other classes, as he could not do it without being inconsistent to the Brahminical division of castes.

The dress worn by the Tamil people varied according to their rank in society and the race to which they belonged. Men of the middle classes, amongst the pure Tamils, ordinarily wore two pieces of cotton cloth, one wrapped round the loins, and reaching to the knees and the other loosely tied round the head.(21) They did not cut their hair but allowed it to grow to its natural length, and gathered it up on the crown of the head or tied it in a large knot on one side. Coloured strings of silk with glittering blue beads were used by the higher classes to fasten the head knot, and the ends of the strings were allowed to hang like a tassel.(22) A Marava chieftain who belonged to the Naga race wore a cloth bound to his waist by a blue strap, and had peacock feathers stuck in his head.(23) Brahmins cropped their hair leaving a small tuft on the top of the head. A Tamil compares the tuft of hair on a horse's head to the short hair on the heads of Brahmin youths.(24) The soldiers employed to guard the public thoroughfares, and the servants in the king's palace wore coats.(25) In this ancient period, a full dress appears to have been the outward sign of a servant rather than of a master: and the nobles put on only so much clothing as can be worn without discomfort in a hot climate.

In the ordinary dress of the Tamil woman, the shoulders, arms and body down to the waist were entirely bare, the drapery descending from the loins downwards to the ankles.(27) The part of the body which was left uncovered was generally rubbed over with sandal and other fragrant powders.(27) The Naga women appear to have been almost naked like those depicted in

(21) Pura-nânuru, s. 189.
(22) Pura—nânuru. s. 150.
(23) Ibid, s. 274.
(24) Tholkâppiyam, III, p. 470. Thamotharam. Pillai's edition.
(25) Perum-pânârrup-padai, l. 69. Chilapp-adikâram, xvi. l. 107.
(26) Kalith-thokai, ss. 111 and 115,
(27) Ibid, s. 18. l. 3.

the Amaravati sculptures. The courtezans wore a piece of muslin which covered their body from the waist to the middle of the thigh: but it was of such fine texture that it hardly concealed their person.(28) The women of the hill tribes wore bunches of green leaves tied to a string round their waist. (29.) The wives of wandering minstrels called Pânar, who accompanied their husbands during their travels, are described as perfectly nude.(30) In fact, nudity does not appear to have been a disgrace in ancient India.

The Tamil women wore their hair in a peculiar fashion. They divided it into five parts, twisted or plaited each part separately, and tied up the five tufts allowing the ends to hang down the back of the head in the manner they considered most graceful. They seem to have bestowed much care on the training of the hair, for it is stated that it was the custom for young girls to crop their hair with scissors, so close as to expose the skin of the head leaving five small tufts far apart from each other: and as the girls grew up, they gradually extended the tufts till they covered the whole surface of the head.(31) This custom of women dividing their hair into five parts, before tying it up, still exists, as I understand, amongst the Burmese. It was never adopted by the Aryan women, and has now disappeared altogether amongst the Tamils.

All classes, both of men and women, applied oils to their hair. The women frequently used scents in dressing it, and ornamented it with a variety of flowers and jewellery.

Both sexes perfumed their persons with different kinds of fragrant oils, and adorned their skins with a variety of powders, of a red or yellow colour. (32) The women painted their eyelids with a black pigment. (33) In the houses of the higher orders, incense of benjamin, and other odoriferous gums was generally burnt.(34) Although their clothing was scanty, the Tamil people indulged in a profusion of ornaments. Various ornaments worn round the neck, arms and waist formed the most splendid part of their costume. The chieftains and

(28) Chilapp-adikâram, vi, l. 88.
(29) Kurinchip pâdpu, l. 102.
(30) Porunar-ârrup-padai, l. 39.
(31) Kalith-thokai, s. 32, 55.
(32) Chilapp-adikâram, il, 69.
Ibid, viii. 21
(33) Ibid, iv. 53.
(34) Ibid, xiv. 98, 99.

wealthy landholders wore a necklace of precious gems or pearls, and massive armlets made of gold. Men of royal descent and petty chiefs wore in addition an anklet on their leg, as a mark of special distinction. The attire of the son of a chieftain is described as follows:—" On his feet are anklets made of a row of tiny bells, hanging from a double cord or twist of gold. Round his waist are a belt of golden coins, and a string of bright coral beads, and over these a piece of fine muslin tied round the loins. On his arms are two arm-rings, handsomely engraved, with fret-work raised like the eyes of a crab. From his neck hangs a double cord of gold with a toy sword and a toy axe, and a brooch bearing the figure of a bull, strung on it. On his head is a triple cord of pearls and golden beads, and above it a wreath of flowers, wound with a string of shining blue beads." (35)

Amongst the lower classes, the women wore bracelets made of the conch shell, and a necklace made of white and blue beads, and other cheap trinkets: while those of the middle classes used mostly golden ornaments, silver being very rare in Southern India at this period. The jewels worn by wealthy families were very costly, and those used by public actresses were most magnificent. The following description of the apparel of an actress which occurs in the chilapp-adikaram, will convey some idea of this luxury and display of jewels. " She bathed her tresses in a perfumed oil, which was extracted from the juice of 32 kinds of plants, 5 scents and 10 astringents: and having dried them over the smoke of the *Aghil* she parted them into five tufts, and applied a fragrant ointment made of musk. She painted her feet with red cotton, and put pretty rings on her little toes. On her feet she wore an ornament resembling a string of petals over-lapping each other, and extending from the ankle to the big toe: and on the ankle itself she wore four anklets, one of which consisted of a row of little golden bells, and another of golden wire plaited in a beautiful design. On her thighs she tied the thigh clasp. Round her waist she wrapped in graceful folds a piece of five blue coloured muslin, and over it she fastened a girdle of two and thirty strings of lustrous pearls. Above her elbows, she wore superb armlets made of brilliant gems and pearls chased in gold, and on her fore-arms, various brackets, some made of polished shells, and some

(35) Kalith-thokai, s. 85.

coral; some of plain gold and some exquisitely engraved and set with diamonds and emeralds. Rings of various patterns she put on her fingers: one shaped like the mouth of a *makara*, and another which had a big emerald in the centre and a row of diamonds set round it. On her neck she wore many kinds of necklaces (which covered her bosom from the neck to the navel): one of them was like a golden chain; another like a twisted cord; another was a string of beautiful beads, and another a string of pendant golden leaves. A splendid clasp, which covered the back of her neck, held the necklaces in their position. Her ear-rings were set alternately with large diamonds and sapphires. On her head she fastened a net-work of ornaments which exceeded in beauty all her other jewels." (36)

Women mixed freely though modestly in the business and amusements of social life. In towns and cities, women of the poor classes were employed as hawkers, vendors, and shopkeepers or as servants in rich households; and in the villages they worked in the fields and gardens along with men, and shared their hardships. The ladies of the higher classes were more confined to their homes, but they were not secluded from Society. From the queen downwards every woman visited the temples. During the evenings they came out on the terraces of their houses, and saw the scenes in the street: and on festive occasions, they joined the processions, and went out to invite their friends and relations.(37) Owing to the freedom enjoyed by women, it was possible for young people to court each other before marriage. It was not considered improper for a young lady even to elope with her lover, provided they returned to their relations afterwards, and entered into a married life. Love, and not the greed of gold, ruled the court, the camp and the grove, in those days; and the behaviour of the sexes towards each other, among the Tamils, was far more polite and courteous than it is at the present day. It is no matter for wonder, therefore, that much of the poetry of this ancient period treats of love, and that rules for writing amatory poems were already in use. The courtship of young people was such an old and established custom with the Tamils that in the great treatise on moral and social ethics,(38) composed by the poet Tiruvalluvar, during this period, one of the

(36) Chilapp-adikâram, vi. 76 to 108.
(37) Ibid, i. 36,37.
(38) The Muppâl or Kural.

three parts of the work is devoted to love affairs. The custom has not yet died out entirely in Tamilakam, as it still survives to some extent on the Malabar Coast. The relations of the sexes can best be described in the words of the ancient poets themselves, and I therefore give below a translation of a few extracts from love poems.

The following words are uttered by a girl to her friend, who questions her on her conduct towards her lover:—"Askest thou whether, as my neighbours say, I have given my heart to that noble youth, who watches me while I bathe in the river, visits me at my house, attends on me tenderly, sets right the jewels that I wear, and paints my shoulders with sandal paste? Listen to what I tell thee! Long I have strayed with him on the sea-shore, plucking the stout weeds that grow there, till the tips of my fingers became red, thou sayest: but it was all for a doll which he made with the weeds for me. It is strange that thou art so simple as to believe the tales of my neighbours, who are never happy when they cannot talk scandal. Afraid to meet thy curious eye, I retraced my steps from my house, and he, finding me come back, culled some flowers growing in the marsh and formed them into a garland, and offered it to me. Is it for this trivial mark of attention on his part that thou, without chiding those who sent thee here with false tales, hast come to question me? He did paint on my shoulders beautifully, with sandal paste, the figure of a stalk of sugarcane, telling me that I knew not how to paint it. Is it for this little act of courtesy, that thou gave ear to the idle gossip of my playmates, and worried thyself?" (39)

Here is an example of a wayward and mischievous youth who develops into a violent lover, and of whom a girl speaks to her companion—"Listen to me, my friend! Knowest thou that wicked youth, who knocks down our toy houses, tears the garlands from our hair, snatches away the ball with which we play in the street, and gives us no end of trouble? One day, while I and my mother were busy in our house, he came in and said he was thirsty. "Give him a cup of water," said my mother, and I, forgetting his evil ways, took a cup of water to him. Suddenly he seized me by the arm and tried to embrace me, but I cried out "Lo! mother, behold what this youth has done." Hearing my cry, my mother rushed to the place where we were

(39) Kalith-thokai, s. 76.

standing, and I told her (a lie) that he was choked while drinking water. Then, as my my mother stroked his back, that son of a thief darted a look at me, as if he would stab me, and made me laugh."(40)

There is more of romance in the love scenes in the hill and sylvan tracts. " While I and my mistress were bathing one day in a stream which was swollen with freshes, she slipped into the middle of the stream and unable to stem the current, she was being carried down the river, when a gallant youth who saw the danger, leaped into the flood, decked as he was with garlands, and bore her safely to the bank. Others who stood by, observed that they had seen her swelling bosom rest on his broad shoulders, and hearing these words my mistress vowed that she would be ever faithful to that youth. He was the son of a chief of a powerful clan of the hill-tribes. " Never," said I, "will a Kurava girl be false to her lover, and never will the arrow shot by a Kurava be false to its mark. If ye, mountaineers be false, the *valli* creeper will not yield its edible root, the honey bees will not form their hives, and your hill farm yield no harvest." Her mother who heard my words, told them to her fathers, (41) who had thought of seeing her wed another youth of their choice. Their wrath was kindled and with eyes aflame they chose their arrows and their bows, and a whole day they thought of deeds of vengeance. But when they found that there was no fault in either party they cooled down and consented to their daughter wedding her lover. Then with joined hands we danced the *Kuravai*...............Later on the elders of the clan gathered in our hamlet, led by the *Arivan*, to celebrate the wedding.—(42)

The above is an instance of a chaste and noble-minded maiden, and what follows is an illustration of a wanton and forward girl of the period.

" Thou damsel whose eyes are as dark as the flower of the Kaya ! Many a day has a youth, decked with pretty garlands and armed with a bow, appeared before me, as if he was chasing some game, and gazed at me long and fondly, and vanished from my sight without ever uttering a word. The thought of him has driven sleep from my eyes, and I am pining with grief. He

(40) Ibid, s. 51.
(41) In Tamil, the brothers of the father are called fathers, and not uncles,
(42) Kalith-thokai, s. 39.

speaks not of his love, except with his eyes, and I being a woman am too shy to let him know how deeply I love him. Unable to bear the pangs of a secret love I did an act of which I am ashamed. One day while I was seated on a swing, by the side of our farm, he appeared before me as usual, and I called out to him and said, "Sir, swing me a little while." "I will do so, sweet maid" replied he, and was swinging me, when I pretended to slip from the swing, and fell on his shoulder. He caught me up in his arms at once, and I lay on his shoulder as if in a swoon. He held me fast and when at last I awoke, he bade me go, caressing me fondly and making me happy in the assurance that he loved me fervently. (43)

V. KANAKASABHAI.

(To be Continued.)

(43) Ibid, s. 37.

LIBERAL EDUCATION.

[The following is the substance of an address delivered at the Second Anniversary of the Students' Literary Union at Srirangam on the 21st of November, 1197].

THOSE who have taken an interest in public matters, know the turn that political matters are taking in this country. Our enemies, for we have enemies unfortunately, are at work, and there have been plenty of evidence to show that they are at work, and exceedingly shrewd and clever as they are, they have chosen to attack us in some of our most delicate points. I maintain here, as I have maintained elsewhere, that there is a deliberate plot among a certain class of Anglo-Indians to obstruct and hinder the progress of the Indian people under the benign rule of Great Britain. This class of people are not the whole Anglo-Indian community of this country. I exclude from this class who have started this nefarious conspiracy, the great body of officials, who are Englishmen with some responsibility. They come here burdened with definite duties, and in doing them they have to follow certain principles and respect certain traditional standard of conduct. But unfortunately India is flooded year after year by a class of Englishmen who are in their own country without any settled means of livelihood and who come here when young with the purpose of making a fortune. They come here absolutely without any sense of responsibility. They have no stake whatever in this country. They are a new and demoralizing element in the Anglo-Indian community and their influence is distinctly to lower the standard and tone of public criticism. The plot I refer to is entireiy due to this inferior class of Anglo-Indians who have chosen to attack two institutions which are the most cherished blessings of the modern system of Government. I refer to the institutions of a free press and liberal education, which we owe entirely to British rule. That these two institutions had been chosen for attack is patent from the recent deplorable events in Poona and the writings of the Anglo-Indian Press. Some fool or knave has said that education is intended in India to produce good subjects and not philosophers; meaning by subjects, I suppose, people that will

pay the taxes and obey the laws, and for the rest sing hallelujas before the gods of the bureaucracy. Well, we want good subjects, no doubt, but we we want philosophers as well—men of high culture, of disinterested devotion to public good, and burning with enthusiasm for the good of their mother-land.

This is a most narrow-minded view to take of higher education. There is apparently a desire in some quarters to bring the education of this country under a rigid, official, censorship. The London *Times* had recently an article on the teaching of history in our schools. There the writer points out that the influence of educated natives on the curriculum of our University has been unwholesome and prejudicial to the cultivation of true loyal feeling. This is a most unfounded charge which we repudiate with indignation. To foster patriotism is undoubtedly a legitimate object of high education. In other countries it has done so and there is no reason why it should not produce that noble feeling in this country. No nation is altogether free from the bias of patriotism, and Englishmen are as susceptible of it as other people. You know the makers of Anglo-Indian history in early years were some of them well-known evil-doers. Warren Hastings and Clive are the most notorious among them. Still the patriotic bias of Anglo-Indian writers of modern days is such that the crimes of these evil-doers are ingeniously whitewashed and they are presented as heroes of unmixed political rectitude. I am indeed reluctant to speak disparagingly of this feeling. But have we not then the same right to appreciate and admire the greatness of our ancestors such as it was? We too can indulge the same excusable weakness of overlooking the faults of our great men and emphasise their noble qualities as examples to posterity. If the Mahrattas of the Deccan celebrate the greatness of their national hero Sivaji, they are doing exactly the same thing that enlightened nations in other parts of the globe are doing. This attack on the teaching of history in our schools, as well as the crusade against the Vernacular Press and liberal education, proceeds from the same class of Anglo-Indians who want to see the Indian people in a state of perpetual political servitude and who do not want them to become a great nation.

These people stand aghast at the advance that higher education has made in our country. They say that it has progressed too far and is producing mischievous results. Indeed, their

prejudice against educated Indians is such that an Anglo-Indian journal made the audacious statement that Mahratta emissaries roused the Pathans into rebellion, and another paper improved upon this lie and said that the Pathans had chosen Mr. Tilak as their leader! You know how the London *Times* and other journals were misled into stating that the murderer of Rand and Ayerst, an uneducated and ignorant lunatic, was an educated Brahman and an Advocate of India! Such is the malicious prejudice of these people against men trained in institutions conducted by their own picked countrymen in this country. But what is the fact? Of course, the charge of disloyalty against educated Indians I ignore as the most contemptible falsehood. But is it true that higher education is making too rapid progress? Far from doing any such thing, it has not touched even the whole of the outer fringe of the community. All of us remember that a former Viceroy twitted the Congressmen as constituting an infinitesimal fraction of the community! What the Government has done for Higher Education is absolutely little, very little indeed. We have an idea of the half-heartedness of Government in this most important matter from the fact that its expenditure on education—primary as well as higher education—excluding what Municipal and District Boards spend, hardly amounts to one anna per head of the population, though it takes so much as two rupees per head in the shape of taxation. One anna per head per annum for the national and sacred purpose of education! Not only is this most unwise parsimony shown, but the Government has declared its policy to be, to sever its direct connection with the management of the higher educational institutions, and spend for that object an annually diminishing amount!

Abolishing all our Colleges and Universities what will these people do? They are ashamed to go the full logical length of the policy they advocate; although at heart they would be delighted indeed if they could keep the Indian population in the same state of utter ignorance and illiteracy in which they were at the time when the East India Company first established their political supremacy. They advocate an educational policy which would lead to Government diverting its funds and energy from higher liberal education towards technical and primary education. I do not in the least wish to speak disparagingly of the importance of these branches of public instruction. They deserve to be

stimulated and fostered in every possible way, and I am glad indeed to acknowledge what Government is doing already for the lower as well as the higher forms of technical education. In the Medical, Civil Engineering, Agricultural and Law Colleges, as well as in the smaller institutions like the Victoria Technical Institute of Trichinopoly, it shows an adequate recognition of the importance of technical education.

But the cry for a system of technical education such as prevails in European countries is, I have no hesitation in saying, entirely premature. The conditions that will make such a system successful are yet wanting. There is no demand for the products of trained and artistic labour. The vast majority of the population live in villages and pursue the simple and ancient industry of agriculture. Their wants are few and easily supplied. They live in exceedingly poor houses which do not boast of much artistic furniture or other adornment. As regards agriculture itself, our people already know its principles much better than any Professor from the West can possibly know. Their habits are conservative, and they do not easily acquire new wants. What education is necessary for indigenous industries such as they are, is already given in a very effective manner under the arrangements of the caste. The Indian artizan carefully trains his son while yet a child in the occupation he himself pursues; and while the son undergoes this apprenticeship, he not only costs nothing but is actually a source of a small yet exceedingly welcome addition to the father's earnings.

It is not that, by these remarks, I wish to discourage the new movement in favour of technical education; but I only expose the fallacy of the contention that in the advancement of the nation, technical education should take precedence of a liberal general education, that high mental culture should be sacrificed in favour of producing skilled mechanics and artizans. Primary education too has its own claim, a legitimate claim on the resources of the State and the people. But neither this nor the other branch of public instruction can be pushed in this country at present beyond certain limits. The people are too poor to benefit by a compulsory system, and compulsory education meaning free education, where are the resources by which a free education can be given to the millions of this country? Let me not be misunderstood. I shall rejoice most sincerely if by some means it could be made possible to extend primary education so as

to reach the whole or the greater portion of the population, or to establish a system of industrial education which would fill the country with trained professional men capable of successfully competing with their European rivals. But I want to warn you against the sinister design which advocates impracticable methods in preference to existing ones of which the experience has been altogether encouraging.

To those people that affect to attach so much importance to these two branches of education, I shall only put this question: whether the present position of England and other Western countries is the result of either technical or primary education? As a fact, Technical education and the Primary education of the masses are only modern features of European polity. If we reflect upon this matter, we would see that long before either of them was thought of, the edifice of England's greatness, material, political and literary, had grown almost to the top. It would be ridiculous to say that it is her trained mechanics and artizans that are the architects of her fame and prosperity, and not those great prodigies of statesmanship, generalship, literature, science and art, who fill the pages of her history. The immortal heroes of English History are Elizabeth, Cromwell, Pitt, and Gladstone in the field of Politics, Marlborough, Nelson and Wellington in War, Shakespeare, Milton, Scott and Carlyle in Literature, Darwin and Ruskin in Science and Art; and certainly not those that are the products of the modern system of Technical or Primary education. They never learnt in Technical schools what made them great. What makes a man great in his undertakings and successful in his pursuits is that great living moral force which lifts up his nature in him and enables him to rise equal to the demands of his environment. It is men of such moral force and mental calibre that really regenerate a fallen country; it is that genuine sustaining power and force which is the sure product of liberal culture in Colleges and Universities that serves the purpose of leaders of nations. Or go back to our own country during the period of its greatness, and we shall find history corroborating my view. There were authors and law-givers who had received the best and the highest mental culture under the conditions of those times, but they never bothered about such narrow views of education as we are now called on to accept. I say, then, that if India should be lifted up again to

take her place in the scale of progressive nations, if she should be again a glorious land, it is men of determined will, force of intellect and moral character that alone can bring about that glorious consummation. We need a liberal and high education much more than education of a special or elementary kind.

There is one other point I would refer to, and that is, that it is never the mass of the people that bring about great reforms. It is ever a few leading men that feel keenly the wants of the country and, in obedience to the strong moral impulse that swells in them, rise above the level of ordinary human energy and sweep away time-honoured abuses. Such men lead and the masses follow. Even in the most democratic countries where the equality of all men is the recognized basis of social theories, the great bulk of the people follow only a few leading men whose moral and intellectual qualities give them a towering position. The nation's destiny is determined and directed by its leading men. So also in this land we want such men, men imbued with high ideals, armed with courage and patriotism, and above all, devoted to work and ready to die for public good. We want such men if in this present crisis of her history India should rise from her lethargy and be led along the path of progress. I would impress on all our well-wishers the fact that if the leading men of India at this momentous epoch of her history were not men of this description, ruin will seize her.

Other countries have gone through crises of their own, and in such critical times, who helped the struggling and prostrate nations to tide over their difficulties? Verily, it is men whose character has been moulded by high and liberal culture. Prussia went through such a crisis when she lay humbled and helpless at the feet of Napoleon after the memorable battle of Jena. France went through a similar crisis at the end of her disastrous war with Germany twenty-six years ago. At that time the great statesmen and thinkers who were responsible for the progress and the happiness of the people did not think of technical education and start technical schools, but they discerned the means of redemption in a general and scientific culture of the country's youth. It is true that there was raised a great cry in France that the disasters which had overtaken the country were due largely to the backward condition of primary education and to the extreme subjection to the State. There was a party which proposed

to remedy these evils by a great extension of popular at the cost of superior education. Against these proposals a powerful protest was raised by a very eminent man, M. Ernest Renan, whose philosophical and political opinions have been considered by some to be wilfully eccentric, but who speaks with paramount authority and supreme good sense on all questions which concern the higher national culture and the organization of superior instruction. He maintained that no more cruel wrong could be inflicted on a backward nation (and he was too sincerely and profoundly patriotic to deny that France had in some directions fallen behind Germany) than by curtailing the resources available for the promotion of culture among the classes whose function it is to organize control and lead the nation. It was not, he maintained, the Primary schoolmaster who had conquered at *Sedan* but the science and discipline of Germany, and that France without a great development of science and discipline among her superior classes would never resume her leading position in Europe. A million, he said, economized from the funds devoted to higher education and the promotion of science, would go only a little way in extending popular education, but might check for a long time the national development in its most vital part.

We must not forget that the crisis in France or Prussia is nothing when compared to the crisis we are passing through. We have to transform a hoary civilization more than six thousand years old, we have long-standing abuses to sweep away, and other special formidable difficulties due to our political and social conditions to overcome. It is not any feeble primary education that can effect this. We have a series of destructive and constructive work to do. At this juncture we want men possessed of gigantic courage, of refined wisdom and high statesmanship, not skilled cobblers and carpenters. Yes, we want *moral giants*, such as Raja Ram Roy, to lead the army of reformers against long-standing social evils, and our education must be such as will produce men from among whom not only the rank and file of the reforming band can be obtained, but the generals also. The work of destruction involves as its necessary accompaniment a delicate and difficult task of construction, which requires not moral giants so much as men of sagacious and penetrating patriotism, men like Sir Madava Row, Sir Seshadri Aiyar, Messrs. Telang and Ranade. And yet no system of technical education

will produce them; and to instruct and lead this enormous community we want hundreds of them.

The system of higher education that we have had for the last fifty years, with all its defects, has produced very beneficial results. It has wrought material changes in the thoughts and ideals of the people; it has succeeded to some extent in breathing life into the dry bones; it has roused the nation to self-consciousness. India is shaking her sleep off, and finds herself now amidst conditions which call for serious changes in the activities of her sons. India can no longer keep her isolated position; its destiny is involved in that of England; and it must move on whether she will or not. Even China has not escaped being dragged out of her ice-bound isolation; but has come under the current of the world's progress. India can no longer remain content with a dreamy pessimistic view of life; she can no longer derive her impulse to advancement from her past; she can no longer spend herself in brooding over the giories of her departed worthies; she must girdle up her loins and plunge into that dreadful struggle for existence which goes on all over the world.

I have said that the policy of the Government is to sever its direct connection with higher education, and while reducing gradually its expenditure on it, to transfer the management of the High Schools and Colleges to private bodies. In one respect, this latter policy is to be welcomed, for the more the education of the country is in our hands, the more is it likely to represent the true aspirations of the people. There must be a real relation between the education of a nation and its condition, needs and ideals. The private bodies now in charge of our higher educational institutions happen at present largely to be Christian Missionary agencies; and neither they nor the Government can possess a true insight into the wants of the people and into the latent springs of their nascent ambition. I am hopeful that in course of time the educational institutions of the country will be altogether under the direction of the people themselves. The task is properly ours, and no other task can be more serious or of greater importance than the education of our youth, who will succeed us as leaders and as responsible members of society, whose thought, feeling and action will be the basis for the labours of the more remote generations. It is a matter for congratulation that everywhere in the country private schools are being established, and it is here that the seeds of patriotism should be planted

and the higher national sentiment should be awakened and fostered. The responsibility that rests on the educated men of this country is serious, very serious indeed.

Not only should our Colleges and Universities not be abolished, but they should be improved in a manner which will result in a more extended diffusion of culture, of literary and scientific culture, and will make them real centres of learning such as have existed for generations in European countries and have formed the true foundation of their greatness and of their prosperity. We are an exceedingly poor nation, and we want wealth not only for ourselves but for our rulers who take a heavy tribute from us every year. Besides, the paths of distinction which are open to men of talent and ambition in other countries are closed to us in consequence of our political condition. We no doubt want wealth, and we no doubt want these paths of distinction to be opened to us. But if you think deeply on the matter, there is one other want which should be supplied before others that I have referred to can be satisfied. I mean the want of that moral power, that product of liberal culture, which, if we have it, would give us all the wealth and all the distinction that we may desire. India wants to be led by her sons richly endowed with this moral power, with dauntless courage, with penetrating sagacity and with cautious patriotism, endowed in fact with qualities which a high culture alone can give.

G. SUBRAMANIA IYER.

THE MOTHER-IN-LAW, A TALE OF HINDU LIFE.

THE scene of my story is a large village six miles south of one of the most flourishing towns in South India. It had considerable importance in the early days of the English in the Pandhya country; but about a quarter of a century ago the neighbouring town of N— absorbed its Taluk and Munsiff's Cutcherries, and began that career of self-aggrandisement at the expense of its weaker neighbours which is the theme of eloquent regret among the gossip-patriots of many a village round about. I have often heard my mother declare that the village of M— had at one time twice as many houses as it now has; and if I may judge from the gaps and ruins in the *Agraharams,* she is not guilty of even the excusable degree of womanly exaggeration. The District Munsiff who, though he works in the town of N— owes his official designation to M—, asserts with all the weight of his authority that the most obstinate and intricate litigation and the evidence least polluted with truth that he has to deal with, come from M—. However ungrateful this remark certainly is from an officer that owes a handsome monthly salary to those to-him-profitable characteristics of M—, it ought not to prevent me from attesting its truth in the main. Somehow all the vices of half-education have found a congenial soil there, and thrive marvellously: litigation-fosterers, anonymous-petition-writers, scandal-publishers, and all those nameless species of humanity whom it is the especial glory of English law and English administration of justice to have called into existence, ply a busy trade; and at a pinch you have only to promise hotel meals for a day and a couple or so of Rupees for jutka fare and "other expenses" to march into the courts at N—a dozen men of "respectability" who will call the Almighty God to witness that they speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, while they are reproducing with greater or less accuracy what you or your agent for you may have taken the precaution to teach them. If the fathers and heads of families are of this description, you can well imagine how the younger generation will grow up under their care. As soon as ever a school was started at N—, and

that was upwards of thirty years ago, the youth of M— took to English education; and yet up to date only four have taken the B. A. Degree, and four others have passed the F. A. Examination. All the rest, except such as are at present at school, have gone back to their respective homes, having succeeded in acquiring a veneer of urban polish, in becoming unfit for the peaceful and contented occupation of landlordism, and in picking up a knowledge of English which is too little to enable them to read with profit the simplest newspapers or write the commonest business-letters, but enough to fill them with contempt for Sanskrit and the vernaculars, and for the lessons of morality and religion contained in them. Thus left without any ideal to emulate or any serious aim to live for, their time is mostly spent in gossiping, gambling, and intriguing. They have no healthy sports, no useful objects of common interest; and their lives are as full of sin and wickedness as law and social custom will allow on the one hand, and on the other that kind of superstitious fear of God which, though occasionally an effectual moral restraint, has yet consisted in all ages and countries with the sordidest of hearts and the wretchedest of lives. Excepting a few that are prudent and worldly-wise, and a few others that are contemptible memskulls, there is not one whom I would advise a friend to trust an anna with, not one with whom I would gladly converse for a couple of minutes.

Of such young men my hero is one. At the time the events to be recorded herein happened, he was a fine-looking youth of seventeen. He had already grown to be five foot four, and measured the Police minimum of thirty-three inches round the chest. A large round face without too much of cheeks, a prominent nose, long eyes shaded by well-arched brows, and a broad forehead combined with slender and wiry limbs and a brown complexion to render him what would ordinarily be called a "beauty." Subrahmanyan—so we shall call him—had long heard his charms praised, and had never been niggardly of his father's money in improving the natural acceptableness of his person by silk handkerchiefs and fine scents, or of the time he ought to have spent at his lessons in showing himself off of mornings in the bathing-ghāts, and of evenings in the bazaar and in the temples. His teacher had long ago given him up as a hopeless uncared-for 'scamp,' and was glad to send him out of school on the slightest pretext, an event of which he on his part was by no means

less glad. He was a much-respected customer at all the cake and snuff shops, being scrupulously careful on the slighlest indication of disrespectful treatment or reluctant compliance with his orders on the part of the dealers to re-establish his credit by some means or other,—laying his father's or his mother's box under contribution to his sovereign wants, or suspending the payment of school-fees, or pawning his books, handkerchiefs, &c. His father would frequently go to N— on business, and though by no means unaware of the progress his boy was making or the way his money was going, never however found time to see his boy's master and take his advice in the matter, or to place his boy under the care of some "private tutor." Not that he did not care at all for his son's welfare: on the contrary he often expressed great concern for his future, and whenever it was necessary to underrate his prosperity in life before a troublesome mendicant or an over-jealous neighbour, did not fail to assign to his misfortune in the matter of his son a prominent place among the curses that were embittering his life; nay, he occasionally went the length of giving manual expression to his disapproval of Subramanyan's ways in a manner that caused considerable discomfort to his cheeks, head, bended back, or whatever part of his body lay the most readily accessible to his father's excited arms. But this state of feeling is too expensive, physiologically speaking, to last long even in the most tyrannical of fathers; and in Subrahmanyan's case a trip to M— on Saturday set matters all right for him. A few favorable occasions of pleasing his father adroitly seized and improved, and a profuse display of penitent tears before his mother, interspersed with promises of the future, reinstated him in parental favour. He would tell his eagerly-listening mother how difficult his studies were even to the sharpest lads among his fellows, and how he had unfortunately no brains, and would quote in support of his stupidity the illustrious examples of his father and uncles,—a species of argument that never failed to carry conviction to the mind of the fond estimable lady,—and would finally swear to do his very best, leaving the result to fate: the result of all which would surely be that the morning of Monday next found him in N— fully equipped with 'sinews of dandism' for another month.

He had just completed his thirteenth year, and entered the Lower Fourth Class, when he had to tie the *tali* round the neck of a girl of ten. She was the daughter of a pleader of N— in easy

circumstances. She had been taught to read and write the vernacular in the Girls' school of the place, and was reputed to have a good voice and sing well. Her parents had been very anxious to give her, as the Tamil expression is, into a well-to-do family, and only the other thing they cared anything for was that the bridegroom should be good-looking. Subrahmanyan of course fulfilled these two conditions admirably. What if he was now a wayward boy, and did not mind his lessons? In time, 'if their girl was lucky,' the boy would become better, and make a capital husband. At the worst, he would have enough to live upon, and their daughter would not want for anything. And they agreed between themselves to keep the boy with them and look after his education. Subrahmanyan's parents hailed the proposal of the marriage with joy,—but for different reasons. The father counted upon some seven or eight hundred rupees of *Varadakshina* or bridegroom's fee, and another five hundred rupees as other presents; valued at a high figure, being litigiously-disposed, the advantage of having for *Sambandhi* a clever vakil of N—; and had some vague hopes besides of his son being advanced in life by the alliance of such an influential person. The mother, like the rest of her sex, ran her eye prospectively over the numberless brass and silver vessels crowded together in the marriage pandal as presents to her son, received the congratulations of her lady-friends and relations with her smile of bustling condescension, effectually crushed her rivals in the glory of life, particularly her *orpadis*, "whose bowels," she chuckled at the idea, "would be burnt up with envy," and altogether gloated over the prospect of possessing such a rich man's daughter to lord it over.

* * * *

In two years more, when Subrahmanyan was fifteen, and his betrothed hardly twelve, they were to become man and wife. The bride's parents would gladly put off the nuptials, but Subrahmanyan's life seemed to demand it. He had of late ceased to enjoy the company of little fellows of his age, and avoided all healthy and manly sports. He had gradually yielded to the influence of designing and evil-minded companions, had begun to pay far too much attention to the adornments of his person, and affected the airs and sentiments of a gallant. He had given up going to school, had managed to incur a large debt for one in his position, and seemed to regard himself, and require others

to regard him, as a man that had broken loose from his leading-strings and become his own master. His father had already bidden fare-well to all hopes of his son's reclamation. "I am glad", he said, "the fellow kept going to school till he was married; else, unreliable scamp that he is, who would *give* him his daughter?"

And so at her tender age, precocious in mind as in body, having learnt a few practical hints as to how to be at once a dutiful wife and obedient daughter-in-law, her mind swayed alternately by vague misgivings and vaguer hopes, with tears in her eyes and கேடபிலை in her hair, Meenakshi went to live with her husband under her mother-in-law's roof. Little did the innocent girl dream what reception had been got up for her. While yet the nuptials were in contemplation, Subrahmanyan's mother had found an opportunity to say to him with deep thought and anxiety in her countenance: "Now your wife will come; she will become the mistress of the house and I shall sink into a drudge. You will no more care for me, or remember with what pains I bore you and brought you up, how I watched and sickened and starved myself so that you might grow up a healthy lad, how when everybody else went to the "temple or the tank," to see processions or enjoy marriage-festivities, I kept home cheerfully to nurse you and pull you through your numberless ailments, how I pleaded and wept before your father for the purchase of cakes, toys, and dress for you,—all this you will forget and go over body and soul to the coming stranger, that 'thing of yesterday', who is to enjoy the love and affection for which I have so long laboured with the blood of my life. And she is a rich man's daughter to boot with a handsome dowry and some accomplishments,— "O what a fool I was! why did I consent to that marriage?" And at this climax she had wept and sobbed for a few seconds, but had soon wiped away her tears with the hem of her garment and composed herself with considerable effort, as if she had foolishly given expression to feelings which it had been more becoming to have kept to herself. Poor Subrahmanyan, overcome by this outburst of maternal tenderness, had reassured his mother, promising not to yield to the persuasions of any *dog* whatsoever, and vowing not to do anything that might offend his mother, and saying a lot of very foolish things about his being as rich as his father-in-law and not a bit less respectable, &c., &c. And he had taken counsel about

this matter of one of his trusted friends who had told him how rich and delicately-brought-up wives used to shirk work, how they would grudge to serve their father-in-law and mother-in-law, how they would feign headache and stretch their length in some dark room if there were any guests at home, how they would not brook rebuke or scolding from their mother-in-law, but bandy words with her on every possible occasion, how they would try to break up the family by poisoning the mind of the husband against his parents, brothers, and sisters, and so on, and so on.

Two months at her husband's sufficed to break the heart of Meenakshi. Her mother's rules for pleasing all had failed her utterly. She had hard work, left her bed early at 5-30 or 6 in the morning to sprinkle dung-water in front of the house, which is the peculiar function of the daughter-in-law, and did not go back to it until all had supped and begun to snore or given some other indication of having gone to rest. And between these hours, she did whatsoever her hand found to do, and whatsoever else she was bidden to do, as promptly, neatly, and cheerfully as she could; and yet she gained no place in the affections of anybody there. There was no praise, no thanks for any service of hers; while, if anything was left undone or done the least bit unsatisfactorily, the party affected, be that the veriest child, would feel insulted and frame a formal charge against her. Her feelings were absolutely ignored; remarks were freely and not very charitably or delicately made in her hearing about her gait, movements, and looks, and these remarks she was expected to profit by, but had no right to resent or answer. Her wants and tastes were seldom consulted; and when they were, it was in a curt distant, almost contemptuous manner. Even favours and kindnesses were thrown at her. No one inquired whether she felt happy and comfortable, and how she liked her new life and environment. She longed to hear one kind word, to receive one mark of sympathy. She felt utterly alone.

In a Hindu family the husband is the one person that can render life tolerable to a girl-wife. He alone can in any sense be called a companion. The female members of the family regard her from the first as an alien who, by virtue of a paltry saffron-tinted string round the neck that does not take a couple of seconds to tie, has snatched away the rights and privileges of mistress of the family which the most intimate blood-relation-

ship, years of patient toil and suffering, the tenderest of services, and the most unfeigned attachment fail to give them; and they resolve each in her own mind to accord to the usurper, while yet she has not begun to exercise the rights of her position, that same cold and unsympathetic treatment which they expect to receive at her hands in *her* days. As for the male members, to their credit it must be said, they don't generally adopt towards the daughter-in-law the same attitude of suspicion and hostility; but they can in no way mitigate the hardships of her situation, being strictly forbidden to speak to her or hold any kind of communication with her, direct or indirect. Few Hindu husbands, even among the educated, fully realise their duties, and manfully discharge them, in respect of the helpless little innocents whom they call their wives. What then was to be expected of Subrahmanyan? He had neither the reflection which is the result of education, nor the experience which is the result of age. He had no notion of responsibility. With the selfishness of the wayward boys, he did not spend one serious thought upon the consequences to others of his actions, as long as he had his meals at the proper times and the means to pursue his own pleasures undisturbed. There was no depending on him. Meenakshi early discovered this.

One night the whole family were at supper excepting Meenakshi and her mother-in-law who were both serving the meals. It turned out that the sauce, which Meenakshi had prepared, contained too much salt. One of the party remarked with the slightest touch of irony "How strange! Yesterday the sauce was over-salted, and to-day it is not any better." "I wonder if *Manni* would do things so carelessly in her father's house," put in the brother-in-law. "There some great folk or other will always dine, and everything will have to be done with care: *here*, anything must suffice," rejoined the sister-in-law in as sly a tone as she could command. At this the father-in-law gently remonstrated: "Nay, nay; how naughty you are! the poor girl has never cooked before, there being a cook or two always at her father's." The mother-in-law could not let this opportunity pass. "Where are we to go for cooks?" she asked with the simplest humility in the world, "we are in a poor way of life, and Subrahmanyan, dunce that he is, is never going to become a big vakil." The last part she bit out of her mouth in a manner that stung Subrahmanyan. He did not relish such public and

pointed exposure, and that in the presence of his wife. So he broke out: "Shall I eat here or not? Why am I dragged into this quarrel?" Quick and crushing came the reply from his mother: "Why! because if your wife had any respect for you or any fear of you, she would have taken a lesson from yesterday's mistake, and put in less salt to-day, and avoided all this bother." Meenakshi could not suppress her tears or her sobs any longer. She refused to eat when her time came. "I have no appetite," she cried, and as she spoke, sobs broke forth afresh, and tears flowed copiously down her cheeks.

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That night noises were heard in Subramanyan's bed-room as of somebody striking somebody else blow upon blow, and a female voice was heard to appeal in agonised, heart-piercing accents: "Leave me, pray! leave me! I will do better. If I don't, you may kill me then; but now leave me! O leave me!

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Two years have now passed. Meenakshi expected in a couple of months to be a mother. Day and night, whenever for one moment she had leisure to think of herself, she prayed fervently to God that the thing in her might be a son. She rested all her hopes of happiness upon that one chance. As she herself put it, "If I should be brought to bed of a son, will not my day dawn at least then? God grant that it be so!" Of late, her husband's course of life had become so notoriously bad that it became the subject of female gossip everywhere in the village, in the river, the tank, and the temple. This afforded her mother-in-law another means of tormenting her. Whenever news was brought to the house-hold of Subrahmanyan's losing his ring in gambling, or his nearly getting into gaol for trespassing into a house of ill-fame, or his being lynched by a party of roughs in some foolish adventure, the mother-in-law would not forget to moralise in something like the following strain: "Why? what could the poor boy do? if he finds any comfort in his lawful bed, why will he think of stirring out? But if he constantly finds his wife in tears and complaining and carrying all sorts of tales to him, he *must* get sick of her and seek other company. I can't blame him, he was not so bad before his nuptials or for some time after that." And the means of his reckless career Subrahmanyan drew from the person of the girl whose heart he was breaking. As the loss of jewel after jewel was discovered,

Meenakshi would be subjected to a battery of the most angry and impatient queries, and her only reply would be, "How could I say 'no'? Have I the strength to resist?" "Resist!" the mother-in-law would cry, "why should you resist? why could you not shout or scream for help? If you only cared, you might have saved the jewel in a hundred ways. But perhaps you are not unwilling that we should be ruined. Who knows what you may not be plotting?"

It was the month of May. Of evenings when it has become cool after the scorching heat of the day, groups of females, old and young, may be seen going to or returning from the river with *kudams* of fresh water from its springs. It was in one of her water-bearing excursions that I saw Meenakshi for the first and last time,—just one week before the horrid tragedy to be described presently. She did not strike me as being very handsome. She was a plain-looking, short, frail creature whom you would at once put down as uninteresting but for the burden she carried in her womb and a look of resignation and patient suffering, both of which accorded very ill indeed with her tender, immature frame. I had heard of her miseries before, and as I reflected how she had been sacrificed all too early in her life to false notions of "respectable alliances," I must own my heart went out to her; and it was with an effort that I could resist an inclination that I felt strongly stirring me to step up to her and say how much I pitied her. She was in the company of her aunt-in-law (father-in-law's sister), who, I understood subsequently, was the one woman in M— who sympathised with her, and to whom she opened her heart. This aunt-in law lived next door to herself, and every day took her to the river both morning and evening; and I daresay Meenakshi was only too glad to escape in the company of such a friend from the oppression of her home. On one occasion, while returning from the river, she noticed, among a group of young men that were enjoying the cool breeze of the evening under the *aswattha* tree, a friend and companion of her brother's who, she thought, must have come to M— on some business, and would return immediately to N—. And it came into her head that she might send some news of herself to her mother. She at once beckoned to him, and after a few mutual inquiries, requested him to tell her mother that she was not well either in body or in mind, and would like very much to see her. When she turned to join her aunt-in-law, that lady

had gone about fifty yards in advance; and Meenakshi was not very anxious to overtake her, being fully occupied with her own thoughts of how mother would come and take her away, how she might forget her troubles amid the happy scenes of her childhood, how she need not turn her face towards M— for another six or seven months to come, and how at the end of that period she would return thither with a dear little son in her waist to begin a new life of hope, happiness, and honour. All that night she permitted her mind to revel freely in her own fancy-made world of cloudless sunshine. Her dreams were most pleasant and happy, and bore no trace of the miserable past and no shadow of what lay in wait for her on the morrow.

The next morning, at the usual hour of nine, Meenakshi's aunt-in-law came to take her to the river, and suddenly remembering the incident of the previous evening, asked her who the youth was to whom she had lingered to speak. At this the mother-in-law, who was combing her daughter's hair, suddenly raised her head, and inquired alarmedly: "Youth? Was she speaking to a youth? Was it her brother?" "Not her brother, I know him, it was some other person." "It was a friend of my brother's who used to come frequently to our house, and knows all in our family", explained Meenakshi not without some alarm. "A friend of your brother's!" exclaimed the mother-in-law in a tone of bitter sneer, "I never heard of a girl speaking to her brother's friend in her *pukkäm*, it was not considered becoming conduct in my days, my mother-in-law would have cut out my tongue for such an act; but how far is it between that time and this? And pray, what were you saying to that young man?" "I only sent word to my mother to come and see me," faltered poor Meenakshi. "And added a lot of tales about your troubles here, and the cruelty of your mother-in-law and father-in-law? Yes: and I suppose she must come here and kick up a row." The aunt-in-law had by this time slipped out of the house, internally cursing herself for her ill-timed curiosity, and wishing that the matter might rest there. But the mother-in-law willed otherwise; and as Subrahmanyan was that day going out after dinner (which of late he did not eat till after his father had eaten his, and left the coast clear for his son), she reported to him his wife's misbehaviour, and took care to add that if such things were not promptly put down, much scandal would be created, and they would become the objects of public scorn and

ridicule. Subrahmanyan heard this, remained silent for a few seconds with the air of a judge considering his sentence, and finally gave expression to his pleasure that the offender should stand in the sun for one hour. The novelty of the punishment, and the calm pronouncement thereof by Subrahmanyan, led his mother to suspect that he was treating the matter in the light of a joke; and Meenakshi herself did not quite know whether she was to obey. Then Subrahmanyan, anxious to make amends for his apparent indifference, went up to where his wife stood, caught hold of her hair, and dragged her to the centre of that part of the courtyard which the sun was heating up. It was between twelve and one o'clock in the day; and the eye shrank from the glare. Meenakshi stood firm and still for two minutes where her husband had planted her, but then her fortitude failed her, and she began to lift up and put down her legs alternately every second. Often she would take up one of her feet in the hand, and pass her palm over it; but before she could do so fully, her other foot would have been insufferably burned, and she would set down the former, and lift the latter. Before ten minutes were over, Meenakshi had run into the shade; but her husband, who seemed now to quite enjoy his pastime, was there before her, and with a fierce menace drove her back to her station. This time, however, she ran sooner than before into the shade, pleading and screeming in the most piteous manner, and could not be driven back into the sun without the application of some violence on the part of her lord. This kind of thing happened at least a dozen times; and Subrahmanyan, who probably regarded the struggles of his wife as a trial of strength between them, thought it necessary to display the maximum violence of which he was capable. After the expiry of about three-fourths of an hour, his mother who had for some time past been calling out to him to desist, aided by her sister-in-law whom her cries had called out of the next house, interposed between the couple and effected the rescue of Meenakshi who now lay an unresisting, half-unconscious mass, partly in the shade, partly in the sun.

In the agony and distress that followed, Meenakshi was tended by her aunt-in-law. When she was a little composed, the kind-hearted aunt left her; and being now alone, she could not help recalling the terrible trial she had just passed through. The thought of her helpless and forlorn condition revived in her the memory of her dear mother, and her heart yearned towards

her home in N—, and she wept the bitterest tears of all the bitter tears she had wept since the ill-fated nuptial-day. When she had wept for some time, she felt greatly relieved, and her mind seemed equal to the task of considering about the future. Gradually hope regained her dominion in her breast, and set her thinking of *how* to get home to her parents. And the idea struck her that the very atrocity of the deed her husband had done to her that day might furnish the means of her delivery. For were not mother and son already repenting of their cruelty, and anxious to conciliate her by what redress might be in their power? She would refuse to eat that day, and demand to be sent to her parents. "They must clutch at such easy means of soothing me, for is it really too much to ask after all I have borne?" But in this she reckoned without her host.

The mother-in-law feared that if Meenakshi was sent home in that condition, the scandal would be so great that the public would abhor and detest her, and tried to persuade her daughter-in-law that she must try and get somewhat better before she could think of going to N—, and promised to escort her herself to her parents within a week. But Meenakshi with the blindness of new-born courage, persisted. "My next meal," she said, "must be from my mother's hand." This was too much even for a penitent mother-in-law to swallow, and she left Meenakshi in a mighty rage and vexation. "What !" she said to herself as she brooded over her discomfiture, "shall a young brat like that dare to impose conditions upon me, merely because a silly fellow has used her somewhat ill ? I must prevent this ; she shall *not* eat her next meal from her mother's hand."

When the son returned at about 5 o'clock in the evening, the mother appeared in a paroxysm of grief and rage, and called down all the curses of Hell upon his head, and wished him all sorts of horrible deaths,—cobra-bite, cholera, lightning-stroke, &c., &c., before she would tell him what had caused her such mortal offence. He had no sooner heard of his wife's demand than he started with the energy of a friend, and rushed at her. His mother followed close upon him to prevent violence. Meenakshi drew herself together in great hurry, and stood up, a little out of his way. "Did you demand to be sent home this very night ?" he thundered. "Yes," she replied firmly, emboldened by despair. "Yes, do you say ?" he roared out, caught her by the hair, and threw her heavily down on her back. Then

with a savage look, he raised his leg as high as he could over her prostrate form, and asked in tones so loud that the vessels of the kitchen resounded, " Do you want to go home still ?" " Yes," she screamed out, and immediately closed her eyes, as she saw the up-raised leg come down upon her fully-exposed womb. A frantic scream or two, a few convulsions, and restless rollings to this side and to that,—and she fell into a state of unconsciousness from which she awoke only half-an-hour before the moment of final release from her ill-starred existence.

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The news of the death spread like wildfire through the village : People poured in by the dozen, information was despatched to the parents of the victim, and the police were expected every minute. The mother-in-law speedily gathered her wits, and recollected that Meenakshi had always been subject to a certain pain in the stomach which had become more frequent and aggravated in form during her pregnancy. But the suspicions of the public, whom the aunt-in-law took freely into her confidence, were not lulled. The unhappy parents had all their doubts completely removed by the dying girl who at about 4-30 the next morning, beckoned to them, and said in their ears : " I go ; for my sake do not give information to the Sircar, he cannot have intended it : let him live and, marry again, and—." She could not finish her sentence. At 5 A. M. she ceased to breathe.

KOPI.

HINDUISM IN ITS THREE ASPECTS.

IT is generally asserted by those ignorant of the Hindu religion that it is but a congeries of many faiths and many nationalities and that hence it deserves not the name of religion. Finding that the Hindu religion propagates all manner of worships from the lowest form of fetish worship up to the highest from of Nirguna Brahman or the absolute and unconditioned God, they are at a loss to find one stereotyped form of worship as in all other religions. Hence it is that they are unable to rise beyond the conception of the one form of worship as ordained in their own religions and find themselves in a vast wilderness when they enter the Hindu religion. But if men should rightly understand what real function religion has to perform, then all these misapprehensions will cease. The word religion comes from two words, *re*—back and *ligare*—to bind. Hence according to its derivative concept, religion is that which binds. The true function of religion is therefore to knit men together by making them realise the essential unity of their nature. As at present constituted, men identifying themselves with their bodies think themselves to be different from others; and it is the duty of religion to cement them together by a common feeling of union. The prefix *re* presupposes the existence of such a bond of union ere this body was assumed by men, and religion is to re-establish it.

But should this bond exist as between some portion of humanity only, then that religion cannot be termed universal and does not fully realise its object. A bond of union is created in a restricted sense only and all men have not been bound by the one cord. There is a link brought about between a certain number of individuals who make inroads, as some religionists now do, into the beliefs of another set of individuals in the honest conviction that their beliefs are the best. Thus friction and wars ensue in the name of religion where there ought to be peace and amity between one man and another, to whatever nationality or clime they may belong.

Avoiding this evil, Hinduism is able to rally round its banner all men of varying grades of intellect and beliefs—no matter

what body they possess or what race they belong to. It is of such a universal character as to embrace, within its scope, the whole of humanity. No form of worship of God which is to be found in other religions or can be thought of by men is excluded from it; and yet the different kinds of worship are reconciled with one another on purely logical grounds. If the whole of humanity is to be bound together by one common link, then we shall have to concern ourselves with men of varying grades of intellect. One would prefer worship of nature; another would prefer that of idols; a third would worship mentally, while the fourth would go beyond all these. Suppose a Protestant Christian goes to a regular negro in Africa, he cannot make him think mentally of the worship of Jesus or God. This is the reason why all kinds of worship are seen in the Hindu religion. Inasmuch as God cannot be worshipped in his real state by humanity as at present constituted, it makes them worship God in his manifested aspects and gives them different ideals or forms according to their varying powers. There is no use gained in thrusting Binomial Theorem into the minds of First Form boys. So each man or set of men has to be given that which he or they can understand. But if religion is to consist of merely a set of doctrines and rules which are of a circumscribed nature, not only do its adherents become limited, but the duration of its life is also shortened. But the Hindu religion on account of its universality of character is coeval with humanity. This is the reason why, in spite of our modern civilisation, we find the hoary Hinduism of the past, attracting, at the present day, the attention of savants the world over.

DEFINITION OF HINDUISM.

There is no word corresponding to the ordinary idea conveyed by the word religion. We generally mean religion to be a system wherein a number of men adopt certain cults or ceremonies and beliefs. To express this idea, there is no word traceable in the Sanskrit language. The word Dharma is a general word and means, in some places, the laws of the world and in other places, virtues. Perhaps the old Sanskrit writers were loath to degrade Hinduism to the level of religions as at present understood. They did not wish to make the Hindu religion a system of particular cults and beliefs only, as that would take away the universality of its character. Or rather the old Sanskritists were not aware of or did not acknowledge that to be

a religion which was restricted in its scope. Therefore the Hindu religion may well be defined to be "the Temple universal", as a champion of Hinduism puts it. But as Hinduism deals, in its lower forms, with ceremonials which are peculiarly its own though, in its higher aspect it deals with pure philosophy, I would define Hinduism to be that system of religion which has, for its basis, Srutis, Smritis, Itihasas and Puranas. Hence a Hindu is one who believes in the authenticity of the latter or is a follower of all or some of the doctrines and ceremonials sanctioned therein.

Its Books.

Srutis include not only the four Vedas now known to us, *viz.*, the Rig, Yajur, Sama and Atharvana, but also the Upanishads and some Brâhmanas now extant. As regards these, it is the opinion of some that all the Vedas which were before in vogue have not been handed down to the people of this materialistic age. In this opinion, they are fortified by a statement in the Puranas that, at the end of every Dwâpara Yuga, a Vyasa—which name is given as an official designation to every individual who incarnates then for that work—is born amongst men to divide the Vedas into four—the Vedas which were formerly one. This is because almost all men, as the fourth or Kali Yuga sets in with all its long trail of woes and misery, become unworthy and dangerous custodians of the secrets contained in the Veda. Among a nation of very materialistic tendencies, any disclosure of the development of powers to the unscrupulous will but bring on the black art and ruin upon the community in general. This is the reason why the Vedas which in their state of oneness were voluminous were, in their opinion, condensed and portions of the same not likely to do mischief to the world were given out piecemeal in the form of the now existing four Vedas. This statement of theirs is corroborated by the fact that almost all the Upanishads, which are alleged to be a part of the Vedas and from which they were said to have been culled, cannot at present be traced to their source. Then as regards the books that treat of the Hindu's social life, ceremonials and rites, they are said to be 18 in number. Not only do the Smritis reckon the number 18, but also the Puranas. The authoritative of them is 18 only, though there are said to be 18 Upa-Puranas in addition. Of these, that which is acknowledged to be above all suspicion and without interpolation by the three important writers of Southern India

is the Vishnu Purana. Of course, the Itihasas include the Ramayana and the Mahabharata; the latter of them being dubbed the fifth Veda. On the authority of some commentators in India, it is urged that, wherever there are seeming differences between the above books, the books stated in the above order should have precedence over those coming after them. This, in my opinion, is a mere matter of expediency and not of principle. When once the sacred character and the authenticity of the above books are admitted, it is idle, in my opinion, to contend that, amongst them, one is superior to another or that one book in the lot may be flung aside as worthless in favour of another. This subject I introduce herein for the purpose of showing that people think they have done their duty as a Brahmavadin after a perusal of the Vedas and the Upanishads and not the rest of the books. From the authorities in our books, it is found that Itihasas and the Puranas have been written as explanatory of the Vedas, &c., and so as to suit the minds of persons lower in grade than Brahmins.

The three divisions.

All these writings of the Hindus I shall dwell upon under three headings. There are three classes of persons in this world. First comes that class which sees things as they are in this world and is loath to be disturbed from that condition. It sees the wealth by which it is dazzled and derives pleasure from it. It sees its family around and discerns an Elysium in it. It sees sumptuous plenty all round it and rolls in it. No thought of the morrow, since there is nothing in its life to provoke that thought; no thought of a life beyond, since no accident mars its life; no satiation of the pleasures, since no poverty or pain attends it. On this infant soul were imposed some duties. It was not to be left undisturbed in that state, simply because it recognizes no life beyond, for it would be like letting a boy be without education in his youth, because he is not then convinced of its utility. Hence on this young soul were laid some responsibilities to bid it take note of a higher life. It was asked to perform daily not only its worldly, but also its religious avocations. The religious Karmas apprised it of beings above, such as Devas and others. Being asked to pay homage unto them, it begins to be informed of their existence and to think of them. With more and more of brooding over the same, some steps in the ladder of spiritual thought are

scaled. Then is the second stage reached, where it is partially a man of the world and partially a spiritual entity. Not yet has the full confidence of the Spirit within dawned on it. At times, the voice of the Spirit it hears admonishing it to take courage and not falter, to scale up to it and not despond; but along with the determination to obey the upward Voice, comes the downward pull from his lower passions, from his baser nature; and then the not-yet undaunted soul succumbs. It is in this second stage that men are contented with theoretical knowledge. They devour greedily the spiritual knowledge from the spiritual books; but the ravenous wolves of passions created by themselves stand in an array before the portals of the spirit, threaten their very flesh and lives and prevent their ingress. Thus has the second class of persons to be simply content with the study of the doctrines. They may then be fortunate enough to be now and then blessed with a flash of light from above with "the Voice of the Silence" whispering into their ears some sage counsels or admonitions in regard to their daily lives; but it can only be on the condition that a sincere effort is made by them to overcome the passions created by their own minds. Then comes the third stage when the disciple is prepared for practical teachings, when he will become a worthy recipient of spiritual teachings. Here knowledge, which before was merely theoretical in its nature, is reduced into practice. A person in this stage is not the half-hearted individual he was previously. He gives himself up solely to spiritual pursuits and becomes a true Sannyasin—completely renouncing all worldly things but yet working amidst them. To suit the requirements of these three classes of people, three things have been ordained in the religion of the Aryans. *viz.*, Karmas, Jnana and Vijnana.

KARMAS.

I shall first take Karmas or our religious observances. Here I use the word Karma in its restricted sense of religious actions. Karma in its generic sense means all actions, whether mental or physical. We have been crammed with Karmas. A net-work of Karmas has been binding us. We are literally soaked in them. Karmas await us at every turn of life. Why should this be so? Why not, like the Christians, allot a Sunday a holiday for communion with God or a morning to ask for

our daily bread? Why this eternal and ceaseless worry with Karmas, all the days of our life, it may be asked? Every act is assigned a spiritual nature by the Hindu religion. A Hindu takes food not for the mere purpose of gratifying his animal appetite, but for the purpose of subserving his Spiritual end. He invokes his Pranas or magnetic currents in himself to partake of the offerings made and give him more strength, more will to be of aid to humanity, to enable him to take one step more in his path to the goal. He prays for strength, not for the purpose of becoming a good gymnast or appearing well in the eyes of men, but to add one more to the number of steady and humble workers in the spiritual field. As thought is a potent factor in the mental world, it, associated with the religious performances of Mantras, serves the purpose of the transmutation of the baser thing into gold. For just turn over the leaves of Chhandoggya upanishad, and you will find the digested food, *viz.*, chyle, decomposed into three things, *Prithivi* (the solid), *Ap* the (liquid) and *Agni* (the fiery, such as oil, ghee, &c.). These three again are sub-divided threefold, of which the subtlest portions are said to go towards the upkeep of the mind, *Prana* (life) and *Vak* (speech). No matter whether the mind co-operates with eating or not, the law will assert itself and the three will nourish themselves with the materials above mentioned. But the quality of the materials will depend largely upon the attitude of the mind. If the mind is sound it will be furnished with such materials from the food as will conduce to the end required. There are many other Karmas which have to be explained and which cannot be explained in this brief article. Besides our daily Karmas, we have the occasional Karmas; we have our Yajnas; we have the temples; we have our other multitudinous ceremonies and rites and symbols. How are they to be explained? Some of our modern educated countrymen cannot be expected to reach the second stage and devote themselves to it. To them, cannot the initial stage of the spiritual path be open? But in order that they may have faith in them, we have to tell them the rationale of the Karmas. Otherwise they will not repose any faith in them. Those blessed old days are gone when things were taken on trust, when things were believed on the authority of the sacred scriptures or the great and holy men. Modern education has made us exercise our reasoning faculty to the utmost, to know the why and wherefore of everything. In this pass, if we go

and ask our orthodox pandits for the rationale of these Karmas, almost all treat an enquiry of this kind as heresy and do not vouchsafe a reply, probably because they have not been trained in this school of thought. In the sacred books themselves, no regular and *scriatum* explanation is given, but there are some clues in regard to some Karmas. As regards some others, no hint too is given. What shall we then do with reference to these Karmas? Shall we then sit with folded hands and do the very things, the generality of the old school men are pursuing? If so, we shall not be able to stem the tide of scepticism and shall not be able to make men perform the Karmas and give them a chance of improvement at a later stage at least. But it is argued by some "why not abolish Karmas?" They are mere outer things. Real progress is made by the mind. As Carlyle puts it, Karmas are the vestures of a religion. The majority of mankind cannot withstand cold without the help of dress. A few only can resist it through mental will. Even they will not like to fritter away their energies in an useless manner. Rather would they conserve their energy for the higher direction and put their coat on. The vestures made in the Hindu religion are strong and durable, and have been keeping atbay the external influences of many of our conquerors. They are not made of thin hard-wares, woollen or cotton. They aremade of Asbestos, moths and use have not rent them. The God Agni (fire) is not able to destroy them. The great devourer, or Kâla(time), has not yet been able to do away with them. But time in its revolutions has left some dirt on them. How is it to be purged off? Neither earth nor water can cleanse that garment, made of a substance midway between the mineral and the plants. It is the fire of knowledge alone that can remove the impurities off the asbestos vestures of our Karmas.

Thus if we go on trying to understand the rationale of our Karmas, we shall not only be able to convince the unbelievers, but also to lay the foundation for discerning the true Karmas from the false, to give up the mushroom growths of time in favour of those that conduce to our real spiritual progress. How is that to be done? Wherever some clues are given in our books, we can expand them in the light of our modern readings, science, philosophy and so on. Mesmerism or Spiritualism has given us many truths to ponder over. Why not take them up-take up those facts only which are indubitable, and apply them to our Karmas

and see how far they vindicate them and the brains of those who have promulgated them. Wherever no hints are thrown upon any Karma, look to the origin, the purpose for which it was instituted and the relationship it bears to our philosophy and, lo! the truth will dawn on any enquiring mind. But are not such empirical methods subject to many errors? Yes, they are. But which science or department of knowledge began with the bare truth at the beginning. No doubt many errors may creep in at first; but yet the attempt has again and again to be made in order that errors may be eliminated gradually so that we shall have the bare truth before us. It is thus that we shall have to climb up unto truth. The path to it is not strewn with roses but with thorns. Whoever braves it is a real warrior. It is men of this kind of mettle that India is sadly in want of at present.

Theoretical Knowledge.

Having done with Karmas, I shall next deal with the second stage, *viz.*, Theoretical Knowledge. It should not be supposed that Karmas are superflous in the case of these men as some suppose. Along with Karmas of the first stage, there must be super-added knowledge, knowledge of a theoretical nature. Karmas are performed by this class of men as aids to their progress in the way of training their reasoning faculties or thinking powers. In the first stage, men had to be elevated beyond the conception of the lower realm of the physical world and so were given some glimpses into the supersensuous worlds through the enumeration of the intelligences in them and the homage paid to them in our ceremonies. In the second stage, this hazy conception would not do; hence they were asked to contemplate upon them mentally, so that, apart from the benefits which such duties may confer upon them, their thinking faculties may be improved by such practice. To take for instance the practice of early *Snânam* or bath. In the olden days it was usual to recite some Vedic Mantras, *Virat Apo*, &c., in favour of the deity presiding over the water prior to the bath, which custom is but rarely observed now by some orthodox men. This prayer is to invoke the deity of the waters to cleanse the mind, as its physical counterpart purifies the body. Through the intense concentration of the mind it is brought *en rapport* with the presiding deity Varuna, by means of the vibrations of the Mantras, just as the body is brought into contact with water, the vehicle of the

presiding deity, and purified by the same. It should be here borne in mind that, amongst Hindus, their religionists never made any real distinction between organic and inorganic, intelligent and non-intelligent beings; for in their eyes, all things, whether atoms or human beings, are permeated by life and intelligence, which are latent in some and patent in others in this physical world. Thus were all the Karmas observed by men in the second stage, no matter whether they were yajnas or other ceremonies. The Devatas in each of the Karmas were contemplated upon mentally, as they were performed physically. In this wise, did Karmas yield their beneficial results to persons who cared more for their intellectual progress. So that in this case, it was clearly incumbent upon them to understand the meaning as well as the rationale of the Karmas enacted; for otherwise the mental operation cannot be effectively carried on along with the physical. According to the law of Rhythm, the oftener a thing is repeated, the more insistent is its recurrence. Likewise whenever the Mantras were repeated concerning a certain ritual, the more recurrent became the mind's habit to contemplate and dwell upon the Devata of that Mantra, thus giving a habit of easy facility to the mind to improve its powers of thinking.

Leaving this prefatory part, I shall go into the deparments of knowledge that form the subject of study herein. The departments of knowledge that were taught in olden days were manifold and various. In the first chapter of the seventh Prapâtaka of Chhandoggya Upanishad, we find a long catalogue of them enumerated besides the Srutis, Smritis, Itihasas and Puranas. In reply to the question of Sanat Kumara, Nârada mentions, besides the above, grammar, the different sciences of articulation, archery, astronomy &c. Here even the Smritis which are now classed with the Srutis do not find their place. The four Vedas, the Itihasas and the Puranas head the list, of which the Itihasas are reckoned as the Panchama Veda or the fifth Veda, referring to the Mahabarata which is so considered, as is evident from the book itself.

Discarding from our present consideration, those books which are more of a temporal nature, and even the Smritis and the Brâhmana portion of the Vedas which treat of the rituals and such like and have therefore been dealt with under the first heading, we shall now devote our attention to the departments of

knowledge embraced under the Samhitas, the Upanishads, the Itihasas and the Puranas as mentioned in the above Upanishad. As regards the Samhitas, we find they are nothing but a collection of Hymns addressed to the Sun, the Moon, Varuna, Agni, Indra and other deities. Are we to consider them, as some Orientalists urge, as so many imbecile flashes that had emanated from the primitive brains of some creatures of the antideluvian period who, when they emerged out of their caves of darkness and gloom, were be-dazzled by the lustre of the Sun and others and so began to consider them as so many immortals that should be worshipped? Shall we, the Hindus, be, like rooks, cawing the same sound and say that they were "the babblings of an infant race?" Shall we not dive deeper into our books and find the still deeper secrets that are to be found therein? No doubt some palliation exists, an excuse may be invented to account, for the misconception of those men of the West who judge of us and our writings, not as they are, but as they think them to be from their Oxford chairs, but it is simply ridiculous on our part to re-echo the same and fall into the very blunder which English culture wants us to avoid, *viz.*, not using our reasoning faculty and thinking for ourselves. Can the Orientalists of the West shew us one nation on the whole surface of the globe who, in their embryonic stages of development, have produced a master language and a voluminous literature, like the Vedas, with such rhythmic, solemn and awe-inspiring cadence, uttered with the proper intonation so as to thrill the hearts of those who hear them. Blinded as they were by the love of their own Biblical chronology and the reluctance to accede to anything beyond their own knowledge, they gave out their own *bona fide* opinions. But as this is a wide subject, I shall not enter into it fully here.

The three chief reasons which, in my opinion, seem to have made them come to the conclusions they did about the Vedas are (1) that the Vedas were written at a time when humanity was, according to them, in their primitive stages. (2) that the natural forces are represented as intellgent ones, (3) that there is nothing underlying the Vedas except their surface meaning.

As regards the first objection, I am not here able to adduce all arguments in favour of the Hindu theory that the evolution of the Hindu race had been going on for numberless millenniums ere the historical records as known to the West. Suffice it for me here to point out that the Hindu books do clearly testify to such

a fact and to great spiritual men having incarnated to give an impetus to the evolution of the Hindu race in its incipient growth.

The second objection is based upon the ignorance of the Hindu doctrine that all the so-called inorganic matter has its inevitable counterpart of intelligence to propel it.

As regards the third objection, if the value of the Vedas depend upon the mere ability of the old writers to compose some hymns in favour of the elements &c., personified, even that, as I said before, evinces a great power on the part of men in their nascent growth. But it is not only so. The great personages who incarnated in this beloved land of Aryavarta descended into this earth for the purpose of formulating to them and all succeeding generations a systematised code of lofty ethics, philosophy and so on. These men who are called Manus, Prajapatis, Rishis and so on composed hymns containing certain Swaras or Rhythmic vibrations to control the intelligent forces of nature which have also their own rhythmic vibrations, just as all objects are said by modern science to posses them and to differ through their different rates. And this is the reason why great importance and sacredness are attached to the repetition of the Vedas. The Brahmins were taught to repeat the Vedas in various intonations, in Jata, Pada, Krama, &c., because they believed great efficacy lay in the getting by rote of them and repeating them in a certain modulated tone. But the Western orientalists attribute this rigid custom of Vedic intonation to the circumstance that in the olden times writing was unknown to them and hence they were asked to commit them to memory. They urge that writing was unknown to them before the days of Panini. This is a very debatable ground. Even were it a fact, I do not know why a nation which wanted merely to preserve them orally from destruction resorted to different kinds of intonations, and why, after the days of Panini when the writing came into existence amongst us, it is still carried on, and why such an institution is held in great sanctity ? Why should our orthodox pundits consider them as mere Mantras productive of results through their mere repetition ? If it is a mere relic of former times now continued, then what is the interpretation that we are to put upon such statements by Veda Vyasa in the Mahabharata as that a true Brahmin is not allowed to speak on sacred occasions in any language other than the Divine Bhâsha, *viz.*,

the Sanskrit, or to utter Sanskrit Mantras in their translated or other forms.

ITIHASAS AND PURANAS.

I shall deal with the Upanishads last. Under the class of Itihasas come the Mahabharata and the Ramayana; the Vishnu Purana comes under the head of the Puranas. The Mahabharata and the Vishnu Purana are considered to be the authoritative ones and are largely quoted by the three commentators in Southern India. The Mahabharata, according to Chhandoggya Upanishad, is referred to as the Panchama Veda or the fifth Veda. Vyasa himself says thus in it that "By the light of Itihasas and Puranas, the Vedas have to be interpreted." But do we do the same? We find no sort of connection apparently existing between the four Vedas and this fifth one? Why? Because we do not try to construe the former properly? Because we do not read the latter in that light? Those who spend their time in metaphysics find the latter repellent in many places to common sense. Others who go into the same, read it for the purpose of its cock and bull stories, never caring for its underlying truths. They disclose, in my opinion, manifold truths in the regions of Anthropology, Cosmology, Biology and Sociology, which truths will throw light not only upon the many vexed questions of modern research, but also upon the unmeaning passages in the Vedas, for which they were intended. Thereby we shall be amplifying our field of research—our field of knowledge, so as to be of use to ourselves and humanity in general instead of confining ourselves to Vedanta merely. Even our notions of Vedanta will be clarified and our basic foundations rendered secure, ere we begin to scale the lofty heights of the highest metaphysical region.

Apart from our making Puranas and the Mahabharata an useful source of knowledge, we shall be able to turn the many followers of Anthropology, &c., into a study of Vedanta. All have not, in the beginning, the courage and the bent of mind to take a dip into its metaphysical depths. Each person has to be led up to the Vedanta, the highest field of thought, through his own path. A biologist who is engaged in his own special field will not be prepared to at once take a leap into the abstruse regions of metaphysics, unless he is shewn how, with his materialistic notions, he will not be able to solve the question of life by making the mere protoplasms, the generators of life. Take the protoplasms for

instance. They are said by modern men to be the source of life. They are small specks of substances found in bodies akin to the white of an egg. Each protoplasm is said to have a gyratory motion in itself. If so whence is this motion? Moreover, these protoplasms when chemically analysed are found to be the same, whether they are found in the bodies of men or animals. Now the questions are; (1) if the protoplasms are chemically identical in different bodies, how are we to account for the differentiations of the heterogeneous bodies of animals and men, or, in other words, why not human protoplasm generate a beast's body or the *vice versâ?* (2) whence did the gyratory motion in the protoplasms arise, if they are to be considered to be the primal centers of life? These are questions hard to be answered by the light of a purely materialistic Biology. Hence it is that the Puranas and the Upanishads elevate the real cause to the supersensuous regions and attribute it to the Pranas which have their differentiations from the One. Take again a question of Anthropology. Was humanity monogenetic or polygenetic? Was there a primal pair only like Adam and Eve to give origin to the multitudinous pairs now existing or were there many pairs at first? The first position of Christian Theologians has been given up by almost all the Anthropologists on the ground of their experience that pairs of the same blood when mated together become, in the long run, sterile. If there were many pairs at first, how were they brought into existence? This is a hard nut for the modern to crack; but our Puranas, in consonance with Vedanta and not at variance with it, as the different departments of modern knowledge are even when they treat of the same subject, state that there was no beginning to creation; and that hence the monads had no beginning. The differentiation of males and females did not exist from the very beginning. Like plants and others, there were stages when humanity had a body which evinced no sex; then it developed into a stage when the marks of both sexes were found in one and the same body; then into the stage which we now witness. As nature ever moves in a cycle, the human body will ultimately become sexual or sexless, passing through the intermediate stage of hermaphrodite. These stages are allegorically put forth in the guise of stories and parables in our Puranas and the Mahabharata. And is it not the duty of us, true Hindus, to work in this field also and to not only vindicate their utility but also to compel, as it were, biologists, anthropologists

and others to resort to Vedanta without which no proper explanations will be forthcoming in their own departments of knowledge? I hope later on to enter into them and then show as far as I can how vast mines can be unearthed in these strata of knowledge. In the olden days, keys did exist by which the Puranas were unravelled, but they have now disappeared. Of late, some of them have been vouchsafed to us; and it matters not who the person is that gave them out to the world. All that I wish to press upon the readers' minds is the truth which can be drawn in the light of those keys, not from one source alone in the Puranas, but from the books as a whole. Here in the Hindu religion is a vast vista of thought opened out for an enquiring mind.

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